Daily Report

East Europe

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FRG Inspectors To Observe Army Exercise

LD1108172088 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1600 GMT 11 Aug 88

[Text] Berlin, 11 Aug (ADN)—The FRG Government asked on 10 Aug 1988 to carry out an inspection on GDR territory, based on the stipulations of the Stockholm Document on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe. It will probably begin on 12 August 1988 and take place in the Glieniche, Brandis, Grossenhain, Luebbenau, Teupitz, Luckenwalde, and Lehnin region, in which a joint troop exercise by the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and the National People's Army is now being held. The exercise was announced to all signatory states of the Stockholm Document in line with the GDR's 1988 annual survey of military activities. Up to 14,500 members of the two armies are taking part in it.

The GDR Government has granted the request and has granted entry to the FRG inspectors. All signatory states of the Stockholm Document have been informed of this through diplomatic channels.

USSR Delegate to CSCE Comments on Meeting

AU1108120488 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 10 Aug 88 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Yuriy Kashlev, leader of the Soviet delegation to the Vienna CSCE meeting, by TRUD representative Ivan Todorov: "The Realities of the Opportunities for Europe"]

[Text] [Todorov] The Vienna meeting is nearing its end. How do you assess the results of its work?

[Kashlev] The Warsaw meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states once again confirmed the socialist countries' desire for an early conclusion of the Vienna meeting with meaningful and balanced results. The socialist countries' new approach to international problems and the processes taking place in our countries enable us to also raise all-European cooperation in the military-political, economic, and humanitarian fields to a new level. On this foundation, it became possible in Vienna to work out a broad-based package of new accords on these issues.

We have already finalized nine-tenths of the text of the final document. The program of measures to be taken following the Vienna meeting is being agreed upon. These measures include continuing the Stockholm talks on measures for confidence and security, and starting new negotiations on reducing armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. A proposal exists on holding a conference on humanitarian cooperation in Moscow. Another matter under discussion is the convening of all-European forums in the spheres of economics and trade, science and environmental protection, culture, and the human dimension of the Helsinki process.

It is our view that real prospects exist, provided that all the member states display the political will, for the meeting to end in the very near future—perhaps even in October this year—with accords that will elevate all-European cooperation to a fundamentally new level.

[Todorov] It is well-known that, so far, no solutions have been found for a number of important issues. What are the main difficulties, and what are the prospects for reaching a mutually acceptable compromise within a reasonable time?

[Kashlev] For a long period, questions relating to human rights and certain aspects of humanitarian cooperation were regarded as difficult. The Vienna meeting, if it ends successfully, will mark an unprecedented advance in this field. This has become possible primarily as a result of the processes under way in the socialist countries and because of the democratization and glasnost that we are increasingly bringing into our foreign policy work as well.

On the other hand, our Western partners have begun to come down to earth a little more often, they have begun to understand better that no one will agree to movement only in one direction. They also have their own difficulties. Western democracy is in a state of stagnation and is reacting sluggishly to the consequences of scientific and technical progress in the social field. Hence, their increased sensitivity toward a number of problems concerning the socioeconomic rights of certain classes of the population. Can these sores be healed overnight? Of course not. We must be realists, and not raise the bar higher than the partner can jump.

[Todorov] One of the possible results emerging from the Vienna meeting is that of reaching substantial accords in the ecological field. In this context, how would you assess the importance and prospects of the Bulgarian proposal to hold an ecological forum within the CSCE framework?

[Kashlev] The Soviet Union is devoting a lot of attention to this subject. The recent meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee also adopted a special declaration on environmental protection.

World public opinion believes that Bulgaria is consistently striving to make further contributions to developing international ecological cooperation. The aim is to utilize natural resources in the interest of the economic and social progress of all nations, applying this principle on a regional basis, and to ensure that man devotes more care and attention to nature. Bulgaria has experience in holding important international meetings, and the Bulgarian proposal introduced at the Vienna meeting on holding an ecological forum should be taken up and considered with all the attention and seriousness it deserves.

Turkish Progressive TU Delegation Visits

AU1108114288 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 10 Aug 88 p 4

[Text] A delegation from the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DISK) led by its secretary general, Fehmi Isiklar, has made a working visit to Bulgaria. During the friendly talks with Mariya Vasileva, secretary of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, information was exchanged on trade union problems, and possibilities were examined for stimulating and expanding the cooperation between the two organizations.

The recent meeting of the leaders of the trade unions of the Balkan countries was assessed positively.

Iranian Envoy Delivers Velayati Message

LD1108183488 Tehran IRNA in English 1548 GMT 11 Aug 88

[Text] Tehran, Aug. 11, IRNA—Iran's Ambassador to Sofia Mohammad 'Ali Farmanbar met Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Minister Mari Ivanov in Sofia and submitted a message from Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati for his Bulgarian counterpart Petur Mladenov.

In the meeting, held on Tuesday, Ivanov stressing Bulgaria's unchanging friendly stand towards the Islamic Republic appreciated the announcement of a cease-fire in the Iraq-Iran war.

Noting that world public opinion would support the initiative he said his country would officially announce its satisfaction towards the issue.

The two sides considering mutual ties as positive anticipated a bright prospect for such relations in the future.

Balkan Airline Crash Death Toll Rises

AU1108143788 Sofia BTA in English 1601 GMT 8 Aug 88

[Text] Sofia, August 11 (BTA)—Despite the exceptional efforts made by the physicians, yet another of the survivors of the August 2 crash of the Bulgarian Yakovlev 40 jetliner has died. She is a Bulgarian citizen and she was taken to the Pirogov Emergency Hospital with 60 per cent burns.

The state of another survivor is also alarming. The remaining five survivors who are in the hospital are in a satisfactory general condition.

As it has already been reported 23 persons died on the spot of the crash. Another five died later in hospital. The total number of people who died in the crash is 28. There were 33 passengers on board the piane and 4 crew.

Leaders' Public Appearances 28 Jul-5 Aug

AU0608153588 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newcasts, the Sofia press, and BTA during the 31 July-5 August monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, held talks with Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, in Varna on 5 August (Sofia BTA in English 1918 GMT 5 Aug 88) and later gave a dinner for the PLO delegation at which Zhivkov and 'Arafat made toast speeches. (Sofia BTA in English 1928 GMT 5 Aug 88)

Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, welcomed Yasir 'Arafat on his arrival at Varna Airport on 4 August at the head of a PLO delegation. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 4 Aug 88) Balev accompanied 'Arafat and his delegation on a tour of Varna on 5 August. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 5 Aug 88)

Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, departed from Sofia on 29 July for Tanzania, to take part in the regular session of the Bulgarian-Tanzanian Committee for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Jul 88 p 2)

Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, opened a new holiday and treatment center in Borovets on 1 August. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Aug 88 p 2)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture, science, and education, received Masako Oya, a Japanese cultural figure, in Sofia on 28 July. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Jul 88 p 6)

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, also welcomed Yasir 'Arafat at Varna Airport on 4 August. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 4 Aug 88) He also accompanied the PLO delegation on its tour of Varna on 5 August. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 5 Aug 88)

'68 Dismantled Socialism, Perestroyka Rebuilds It

LD1108194488 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 11 Aug 88

[Text] Jiri Halousek discusses the increasingly intensive propaganda of the Western communication media in connection with the history of 1968 in Czechoslovakia.

[Halousek] The so-called Prague Spring of 1968 and the events which followed immediately after that have for 20 years been one of the central points of attacks by Western propaganda against the socialist countries and socialism as such, and against Czechoslovakia in particular. Although all these attacks basically praised the developments after January 1968, and, in contrast, openly slandered all that has been achieved after 21 August this year, a somewhat new note resounded in this rather monotonous choir. The organizers of the campaign in connection with the 20th anniversary of the crisis events in Czechoslovakia are trying their best to enforce the idea that in fact the Prague Spring of 20 years ago and the current restructuring in the USSR and other socialist countries are in many ways identical. And one has to say that this is being endorsed by almost all the former protagonists of the post-January development in our country.

The question of why can be answered quite simply. They want to achieve, by means of arguments, newly adjusted to the current development in the socialist countries, the same aim for which they have been striving since the time of defeat 20 years ago—their personal political rehabilitation and a return of already failed policy. Apart from that, however, they are also following other aims, such as to undermine the trust in the current policy of restructuring in Czechoslovakia, to drive a wedge between restructuring in our country and in the USSR, and to influence, in one way or another, the reform processes in the other socialist countries. At the same time, they rely on the fact that during the past 20 years new generations have emerged who did not live through the crisis years, that their true activities have been somewhat forgotten and, last but not least, they misuse some circumstances which, at first sight, have something in common with the post-January development in Czechoslovakia and the current reforms.

The January Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee, for example, tabled in the year 1968 the requirements for democratization, revival, and other slogans which, indeed, are in many ways identical with those which are now strongly abundant in the USSR. But is it possible, only on the basis of some external signs, to allege that the Prague Spring of 20 years ago was, in fact, identical with restructuring and that Alexander Dubcek was a predecessor of Mikhail Gorbachev? The majority of the West's media is answering this question positively, above all, through the mouthpieces of our former post-January politicians. These statements, however, are being addressed to the broadest public, both in the East and West. They are the instruments of notorious ideological diversion. Serious analyses, aimed at politicians and experts themselves, however, sound quite different. The U.S. quarterly FOREIGN AFFAIRS, in its summer issue broadly discusses precisely the comparison of the Prague Spring with restructuring in the USSR, and states in its conclusions, among other things:

While Gorbachev is heading the current reforms and is verifying this process, Dubcek lost control—the presure from below destroyed him. FOREIGN AFFAIRS adds: Just as important as the personality of the leading reformers is the substance of their programs and the line of true development in their countries. A long time ago Zdenek Mlynar stressed that Czechoslovakia introduced a mechanism 20 years ago capable of enforcing a change of system, that is a change from socialism to capitalism. Gorbachev's approach to critical problems, as well as to the current Soviet reality, is considerably different. Above all, the word democracy has a completely different meaning for him than for Prague's reformers. He is trying to gain democracy, but in a controlled and centralized way—a free press, but one that would serve the interests of the party as a unifying and mobilizing force.

So much then for the U.S. quarterly FOREIGN AFFAIRS. If we translate these conclusions into our socialist terminology, then it ensues that while during the so-called Prague Spring a gradual disassembly of socialism was involved, the current program of restructuring in the USSR and in other countries represents, on the contrary, a program of development of society based on socialist principles. The fact that some of the slogans are similar is quite secondary in this light. What is decisive is the policy which follows them.

'Clericalists' Plotted 'Destruction of Socialism'

AU1208083088 [Editorial Report] Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 30 (on 27 July) and No 31 (on 3 August), on page 11 in each instance, publishes in two installments a 6,000-word article by Karel Hruza entitled "How They Were Winning the 'Kingdom of Souls.'" The article describes the activities of representatives of "political clericalism" in Czechoslovakia, with special emphasis on the 1968-69 period.

In the opening part of his article, Hruza discusses the "negative role" played by "political clericalism" in Czechoslovak history. He recalls that, at the end of World War I when the days of the Hapsburg empire were numbered, the Czech and Slovak Catholic hierarchy was still praying for the "victory of Austro-Hungarian weapons"; that, during the "bourgeois" Czechoslovak Republic, Catholic parties were "among the mainstays of the ruling bourgeoisie and among the most active anti-worker ideological institutions"; that, during World War II, "a very unfortunate role was played by the Vatican-inspired clericalist fascism in Slovakia;" and that, after Czechoslovakia's liberation, "Czech and Slovak clericalism wanted to hamper the national and democratic revolution." Immediately after February 1948, Hruza

goes on to say, clericalism "launched a both overt and covert attack on the people's democratic system with the aim of thwarting the results of the February victory" and ever since it has been "attacking the ideas of socialism" and presenting "antisocialist demands."

This was also the case in the years 1968-69, he says, when "with jesuitical treachery and shameless hypocrisy, but also with maximum tenaciousness, clericalism launched another attack on the ideas of socialism. In some cases it operated independently, but more often concurrently with revisionist and counterrevolutionary forces. This is its permanent tactic—in case of victory, it then lays claim to the 'cream'; in case of defeat it maintains that it is innocent, that it was only because of unfortunate circumstances that it got entangled in a political conflict."

Hruza goes on to discuss the pre-1968 "preparations of clericalism for the destruction of socialism" in Czechoslovakia and the "leading role" played by Catholic emigrants in these preparations. He dwells on the "anticommunism" of Czechoslovak Catholic emigres in Rome (Josef Beran, Pavel Tomko, Pavol Hnilica, Jan Bukovsky) and describes the "anti-Czechoslovak activities" of their institutions (the Nepomucenum theology institute, the Velehrad publishing house, the Slovak Cyril and Methodius Institute).

Speaking about the "preparations of clericalism for the destruction of socialism" prior to 1968, Hruza also refers to the promotion of "a self-styled concept of dialogue between Christians and Marxists" in Czechoslovakia in the sixties. This dialogue, he says, was designed to "water down the Marxist ideology," which is why "it cannot be regarded as a forerunner of current contacts and discussions" between Marxists and Christians. According to Hruza, "clericalist ideology" was also promoted at Czechoslovak universities in the sixties. At Charles University in Prague, for example, "the inveterate anticommunist Wetter, a Jesuit monk, was allowed to present his views."

Moving to the events of 1968 proper, Hruza then says: "Clericalist forces were explaining the political development in Czechoslovakia after 1945 as a series of errors, mistakes, deformations, and unlawful acts. At the same time, the Vatican advised the hierarchy to be very cautious in the upcoming political conflict. It should not speak out openly against the socialist system or its representatives and it should steer clear of public criticism of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. First it was to enhance its influence within the Catholic Church, which meant eliminating those Roman Catholic priests who, proceeding from patriotic positions, supported the building efforts of the working people and Czechoslovakia's foreign policy of peace. In other words, the clericalists were to discredit the Peace Movement of Catholic Clergy (MHKD) and, later on, declare it null and void."

Hruza continues: "The intention to liquidate the movement of patriotic clergy was translated into reality on 21 March 1968. The Prague archbishop's palace organized a group of militant clericalists, who, although not invited, came to a meeting of the extended MHKD Presidium. Applying inquisitorial methods of Dominican style, they forced the Presidium to resign. Some Slovak priests (Vicars Capitular Onderko from Kosice and Belak from Roznava and Bratislava Canon Zarecky) rejected this brutal pressure, but they were silenced. The sharpest attack was directed against Josef Plojhar, the movement's chairman, who was charged with 'collaboration with communists.'

"An 'action committee' was set up at the aforesaid meeting, made up of priests who were loyal to the pope, and the Prague Bishop F. Tomasek was appointed to head it. Father Rudolf became head of the secretariat. At the close of the meeting, an initiative was approved to set up the 'work of ecclesiastic renewal.' Clericalist and anticommunist forces thus completed the first stage—they removed patriotic priests. A similar goal—the annulment of the peace-promoting and patriotic activity of priests associated in Pacem in Terris—is pursued by the contemporary activists of clericalism. They rely on the views of the part of the Roman Curia that is trying, once again, to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign Czechoslovakia."

Speaking about Tomasek's role in 1968, Hruza says: "On 20 March 1968 Bishop Tomasek issued a pastoral letter, whose content was a call for open activity against socialism in our country: 'I am calling everyone to the Lord's vineyard—much work lies before us. Our task will be not only to restore what we had 20 years ago. First and foremost, we must seek ways of implementing as effectively as possible, and in the entire spectrum, the ideas of the [second Vatican] council, not just in liturgy but in the life of parishes and the entire archdiocese!'

"Bishop Tomasek was actively supported by leading authorities of the Slovak church hierarchy, who also proceeded according to his example. On 27 March 1968 Bishops Necsey, Lazik, and Pobozny issued a similar pastoral letter in Banska Bystrica. In the letter they let it be known that 'the aim is...the restoration of everything the church had 20 years ago....' (in other words, the return to the times when the Slovak hierarchy had unlimited political but also economic power, to the times when it was able to exploit working people in an un-Christian manner on hundreds of thousands of hectares of the bishops' large estates)."

Hruza goes on to discuss the activities of the "Work of Ecclesiastic Renewal"—a "clericalist organization" founded at Velehrad in Moravia in May 1968— whose organizers reportedly included, next to legally and illegally ordained bishops, also "laymen who had been active under the clerico-fascist regime" in Slovakia during World War II. According to Hruza, the Work of Ecclesiastic Renewal "set itself the goal of 'purging the

clergy of discredited elements,' that is, of priests who cooperated on patriotic positions with their socialist homeland" and used "inquisitorial" methods in its pursuit of this goal. Hruza says: "Jan Decheta, for example, the vicar capitular of Banska Bystrica, was described as a traitor of the church, because of his cooperation with the socialist state, and his immediate recall was demanded. The attack on this honest, patriotically minded priest, ended with his demise. They simply hounded him to death. The life of Titmann, the vicar capitular of Ceske Budejovice, ended similarly.

"Meanwhile, proceeding according to the slogan 'do not put new wine into old bottles,' Bishop Tomasek of Prague replaced all district deacons. The leaderships of the Litomerice and Bratislava schools of divinity were replaced. Theologians who had taught their students to have a positive attitude to the socialist homeland were removed from the faculties and replaced by Jesuit, Salesian, or Redemptorist friars. It was a graphic example of the raging of an inquisition in its own ranks. How would it treat non-believers and, in particular, members of the CPCZ?" Hruza asks.

In another part of his article, Hruza reviews the demands raised by the "Work of Ecclesiastic Renewal" in 1968. He recalls that the organization sought, among other things, the annulment of laws regulating church-state relations; the filling of vacant bishoprics "according to the ideas of the Vatican"; the "unlimited activity" of all religious orders; the expansion of religious press and religious instruction; the legalization of religious propaganda; the "removal from public life of all those who had carried out February 1948 and the building of socialism in the fifties"; religious services in army barracks and school dormitories; the public display of crosses in hospitals and schools; regular religious programs on radio and television; the "formation of councils of laymen to enhance and spread the influence of Catholicism"; as well as the "accelerated construction of churches and parishes in new housing estates and in rural areas." Having listed these "clericalist" demands, Hruza notes their "similarity with the petition of the so-called Moravian Catholics, which is fully supported by the Prague Primate Tomasek." According to Hruza, even the "initiators of the present campaigns are identical with those of 1968—Vatican-'cultivated' church emigration and clericalist activists, chiefly from illegal church structures, 'in the care of' the Prague archbishop's palace."

In the subsequent passage, Hruza discusses the "clericalists' close ties with the counterrevolutionary organization K 231," their cooperation with the Club of Committed Nonparty Members (of which, as Hruza notes, Bishop Tomasek was an honorary member), and the activation of religious orders in Czechoslovakia in 1968. Jesuits, for example, are said to have "seized control of the Catholic press," Salesians to have "disseminated antisocialist literature printed in the Vatican," and Redemptorists to have "quietly, but purposefully undermined socialism." According to Hruza, the aim of this activation of "clericalists" was not only the "seizure of political power and the annulment of socialism" but also the regaining of the churches' nationalized property.

Hruza concludes his article by saying that believers have no reason to oppose socialism since "this social system ensures full religious self-realization and the freedom of religious worship."

Evzen Vacek Receives USSR's Bondarenko

LD1108080988 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0400 GMT 11 Aug 88

[Text] Deputy Foreign Minister Evzen Vacek yesterday received in Prague's Gernin Palace Aleksandr Bondarenko, member of the Collegium of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

The two representatives held their talks in the framework of interministerial consultations on problems of neighboring states, all-European cooperation, and security.

East Bloc Pays Dollars for Hungarian Wheat

AU1008112088 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Aug 88 p 6

[Unattributed report in the "They Wrote, They Said" column]

[Text] The [Hungarian] Sunday paper VASARNAPI HIREK reports on the results of this year's harvest in the Hungarian People's Republic. A total of 6 million tonnes of wheat were harvested, of which 2 percent is wheat of the highest quality. The Hungarian People's Republic exports 2 million tonnes to the USSR, the CSSR, the GDR, and Poland, of which 45 percent is paid for in dollars. Several tens of thousands of tonnes of the best quality wheat will be exported to Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, and Great Britain.

IAEA Accident Assistance Accord Ratified

LD1008222788 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1800 GMT 10 Aug 88

[Text] Czechoslovakia has deposited with the IAEA director general a ratification document on the agreement on assistance in the event of a nuclear accident. The document creates conditions for the mutual provision between countries under the contract—on a bilateral or multilateral basis—of technical material and medical help in the event of a nuclear or radiation accident. Czechoslovakia is taking part in this way in the effort to create an international regime for safe development, production, and peaceful utilization of nuclear energy.

CC Congratulates ZANU on Anniversary

AU1008143588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Aug 88 p 2

["Z"-signed report: "Message to Zimbabwe"]

[Text] Prague—The CPCZ Central Committee has sent to the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front a greetings message on the occasion of its 25th founding anniversary.

The telegram states, among other things, that after long years of heroic national liberation struggle, the Zimbabwe African National Union became the ruling party and the representative of the majority of the nation in a free and progressive Zimbabwe. Thanks to the purposeful leadership headed by Robert Mugabe, your party acquitted itself well also in this—new—function, and succeeded in consolidating national independence and permanently strengthening the country's economy for the benefit of the broad people's masses. Your party and President Mugabe have won authority also in the international forum by their active solidarity with the struggle of nations against imperialism, colonialism, racism, and apartheid, for peace and security in Africa and in the world, the message states.

Vietnamese Students, Trainees Meet in Kladno

AU1908123988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Aug 88 p 2

[CTK report in the "Per Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] The best apprentices, trainees, and students from the SRV, who are preparing themselves for their professions in the CSSR, conferred in Kladno on Saturday [6 August]. They exchanged experience from their studies and their work, and discussed how to make the best use of their skills and knowledge for the development of their country's national economy. Currently there are some 20,000 young Vietnamese in the CSSR, who are acquiring or improving their qualifications at Czechoslovak secondary schools and institutes of higher learning, vocational training centers, enterprises, and plants.

Briefs

Hailstorm Damage in Bohemia

Strong hailstorms which raged over the Chrudim and Svitavy areas in East Bohemia during the middle of last week caused crop damage amounting to almost Kcs60 million, according to preliminary estimates. In the Svitavy District the hailstorm hit 14 of the 27 agricultural enterprises in the area, "damaging" 60 to 90 percent of the 1,300 hectares of grain, and 30 to 50 percent of more than 5,000 hectares of other grain fields in the region. Considerable damage was also caused to 450 hectares of sugar beets. [Summary] [*AU0808181588 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Aug 88 p 2*]

Hailstorm Hits West Slovakia

In only 20 minutes the hailstorm which hit West Slovakia on 3 August destroyed fruit on trees, and "hundreds of hectares" of vegetable, fodder, sugar beet, and corn crops in the united agricultural cooperatives of Marcelova, Modrany, Moc, Buc, Vojnice, Dolny Petr, and Srobarova in the Komarno District. The damage to crops there has been estimated at about Kcs50 million. A few kilometers north, in the Nove Zamky District, the hailstorm caused almost Kcs12 million of damage to "special crops" in several united agricultural enterprises and on the Sturovo state farm. [Summary] [*AU0908101288 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Aug 88 p 2*]

Kessler Writes on Military Bloc Cooperation
AU1108131388 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Aug 88 pp 3, 4

[Article by Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense: "Safeguarding Peace—Purpose and Aim of Our Military Activity"]

[Text] The recent meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee has set new guidelines on the path toward a Europe where East and West no longer direct weapons at each other, but draw benefit from trade and change, from the exchange of goods and values, skill and knowledge, and from the people and ideas in a hitherto unknown manner. This happened barely 14 months following the adoption and publication of the statement on the military doctrine in Berlin by the leading political representatives of the allied socialist countries.

The basic documents which were adopted at the time and the recently published documents express the resolve to exclude war once and for all from the life of human society. This is the fundamental question of our time. The two leading concepts of the 29 May 1987 Berlin statement can be summarized in a few sentences:

1. The military doctrine of our alliance—as well as those of every individual member state—are aimed at the task of preventing any kind of war between NATO and the socialist defense alliance, no matter whether this war is waged with nuclear or nonnuclear weapons.

2. Our military doctrine is oriented toward limiting the armed forces of our countries to a level of defense capability that is absolutely necessary and that corresponds to the military activities and abilities of NATO. In this, our countries consider the approximate military-strategic balance of forces that has been achieved an essential factor in safeguarding peace, but deem it imperative to gradually reduce this balance to a lower level and to perfect at the same time all political instruments and methods to safeguard peace.

In other words: Our military doctrine is aimed at putting an end to the arms race which, in the long run, is getting more dangerous and more expensive, and at bringing about disarmament. The present condition of mutual destruction capability should be replaced as swiftly as possible by a stable international system of mutual joint security. It should be a security system that is based on set political rules and methods aimed at the exchange of interests, the settlement and prevention of conflicts by political means, as commanded by reason and as has proven possible and efficient.

At the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones, held in Berlin 2 months ago, it was interesting for us to learn in how many countries all over the world—including NATO states—the view is beginning to prevail that nuclear deterrence must sooner or later be replaced by a cooperative political safeguarding of peace, even if there is still strong resistance to this within NATO.

The Berlin statement is characterized by the fact that it closely links principles concerning the military doctrine with specific goals regarding the stages during which they are to be implemented:

In the second part, the general principles that have been explained in the first part are developed into a comprehensive program that is designed to reduce and ease military confrontation and to eventually dissolve both military coalitions.

Thus, our military doctrine does not place emphasis on the expansion of armed forces, on the development of new and increasingly perfected types of weapons of destruction, which unfortunately characterized the resolutions adopted by NATO in the spring of 1988. Mutual reduction of armaments and the reduction and eventual elimination of the danger of war is and continues to be the supreme concern of the military-political concept of our community of states. This also applies to the full extent to the GDR's corresponding views on the military concept.

At the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones, held in Berlin in June 1988, Erich Honecker stressed that "the safeguarding of equal security for all states is our goal. The path toward this goal must be characterized by disarmament, starting with the most dangerous offensive weapons, which should lead to a structural incapacity to attack on both sides."

As the CPSU, the SED, and other fraternal parties have repeatedly pointed out in recent time, the military policy and military strategy of the allied socialist states is determined by these principles. On 12 July Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, welcomed the proposals submitted by Mikhail Gorbachev to the Sejm of the PPR to reduce military confrontation in Europe, and assessed them as an important initiative for building confidence, for strengthening security in Europe, and continuing the process of disarmament. The proposal to establish a center for the reduction of the danger of war, which includes the possibility of steady cooperation between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, is closely linked with the ideas expressed by the GDR and the proposals made by the CSSR.

The resolutions of the 16 July Warsaw Pact meeting have contributed to enriching the broad peace program of the socialist community of states, which is aimed at detente, with new initiatives of far-reaching international significance. The proposals contained in the statement of the Warsaw Pact member states on the negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe are to be viewed as further steps to implement our joint military doctrine. It has been proven that the

document adopted in May 1987 was not a short-term, day-to-day political activity. It will provide the framework, direction, and target for the coordinated military policy and military strategy of our alliance, including measures aimed at our country's military protection.

In the middle of the year 1988, which is decisive from several points of view—as Erich Honecker pointed out—and in the aftermath of the most recent international events and in view of upcoming events, it is justified to ask: What has been achieved after the adoption of the Berlin statement? What will be the most important tasks during the next few months in order to proceed on the path toward a Europe with fewer weapons but with more mutual confidence and more security for all?

We Did Not Stop at Words [subhead]

Owing to the extraordinarily active and resourceful policy of the USSR and other socialist states in the fields of disarmament and the promotion of military confidence, thanks to a flexible style of negotiations and a most far-reaching readiness for compromise on the socialist side, in the course of only 1 year a degree of progress was achieved that was hardly conceivable a little while ago.

The most important result of the Washington and Moscow summits was the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. It initiated a change toward real disarmament in a whole category of nuclear weapons, and the mere fact that it was concluded and ratified furnishes proof that, despite existing serious differences of interests and opinion, prospects for a world free from threats of nuclear destruction are beginning to become discernible.

The agreements reached by Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan on further steps to limit and reduce weapons, on regional conflicts, and the shaping of constructive relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, which have been stipulated in the Moscow communique, are the second significant result.

These agreements, for the signing of which the CPSU general secretary could rely on the mandate of the community of socialist states, have brought us closer to the conclusion of a treaty on the 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons of both powers, while observing the stipulations of the ABM Treaty as it was concluded in 1972. Bearing in mind how difficult it is to find solutions to problems concerning the main military forces of the two social systems that are acceptable for both sides and to fend off the open and concealed resistance to disarmament agreements of influential military circles of NATO, what has been achieved in Moscow is to be valued all the more highly. Here, not only different structures regarding nuclear missile forces are involved, but also great differences of opinion on increasingly complicated verification procedures and the general disclosure of difficult problems regarding military security and secrecy on both sides.

Some other results of negotiations that are important to develop understanding and confidence between states with different social systems are to be seen in this light as well. This includes the establishment of centers for the reduction of nuclear risks in Moscow and Washington, and the setting up of working groups of members of the Soviet and U.S. military to improve communication and consultation possibilities in cases of crises and increased tension.

It also includes the joint development of a Soviet and U.S. verification procedure on the nuclear tests sites of Semipalatinsk and Nevada to monitor a future ban on underground nuclear tests. It includes the agreement on early information on missile starts and, last but not least, it also includes the exchange of views between the defense ministers of the USSR and United States on basic issues concerning the military doctrine and military strategy of the two powers, which was initiated by the Soviet Union and continued through several meetings, including encounters between the general chiefs of staff.

These and other results of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue, which are not specified in detail here, were supported and enriched as much as possible in the spirit of the Berlin statement by the initiatives of other socialist countries.

In this context, special mention is to be made of efforts by the PPR, the CSSR, and GDR to bring about disarmament and enhance confidence-building in central Europe. The CSSR and GDR, which, as alliance partners of the Soviet Union, were also directly affected, did not only promote the conclusion of this agreement. Both states immediately took all the required legal steps and supported the early withdrawal of Soviet OTR-22 missiles from their territories in February this year.

Following the first on-site inspections on the territories of our two states, U.S. experts acknowledged the correct and careful fulfillment of all contractual obligations by the representatives of both host countries. The proposals for a nuclear-free corridor, a chemical-weapons-free zone, and a recent proposal for a zone of confidence and security in central Europe, which have been developed by the SED together with the SPD since 1986 and which were welcomed by the fraternal states, also testify to the serious and responsible approach of the socialist countries.

At the Berlin International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones, Erich Honecker made the proposal—which was strongly supported by our allies—to create mechanisms aimed at the peaceful settlement of conflicts and the prevention of military incidents in central Europe, including direct connections between the heads

of state in Prague, Berlin, and Bonn, as well as joint bodies and centers for the promotion of confidence, equipped with the required technical facilities.

It fills us with satisfaction that the increasing significance of the proposals aimed at disarmament and strengthening security on a regional basis was particularly stressed at the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. The implementation of such confidence-building measures, which would strengthen the security of the peoples and states on our continent, would essentially contribute to reducing the mistrust that still exists, to promoting mutual understanding, and to paving the way to further disarmament steps, as stipulated in the Warsaw resolutions.

Consultations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, which were suggested 1 year ago in order to compare the military doctrines of both alliances, to analyze their character, and to discuss their future limitation to principles of defense, also point in the same direction.

What Was NATO's Response? [subhead]

So far, NATO has not officially responded to this offer. Irrespective of this, questions concerning the military doctrines assumed a central role during talks between the Soviet defense minister, Army General Dmitriy Yazov, and U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci in Bern and Moscow, and recently between the Marshall of the Soviet Union Akhromeyev and Admiral Crowe. In other NATO states, too, this document has been undergoing close scrutiny after the publication of the Berlin statement. It is quite natural that differing viewpoints have emerged, which sometimes sharply contradict each other.

But, above all, one fact is remarkable: In the capitalist world, the circle of realistically-minded politicians, representatives of the economy, cultural workers, and of members of the military is constantly increasing. Their views on the security interests of NATO differ sharply from those of some of the so-called "hawks," and are indeed compatible with the corresponding principles and proposals of the Warsaw Pact states. This includes the insight that a war between the military coalitions cannot be won by either side, but that it can destroy human civilization, which means that it must be prevented. This also includes a growing interest in military strategies and structures of armed forces that stress the defensive character, and in the creation of nuclear-free zones, as was clearly expressed by the international meeting in Berlin.

Today, partners for a policy of joint security are no longer to be found exclusively in the one or the other leftist opposition party in capitalist countries, in the trade unions, youth, women's, and church organizations, but also in ruling conservative parties in West European states, in concerned leaderships, and in entrepreneurs' associations. FRG Government representatives, for example, reacted in a businesslike and relatively open-minded manner to the most recent proposals of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact, aimed at disarmament and the strengthening of security in Europe. Despite some reservations that he explained, FRG Defense Minister Scholz also indicated his willingness to discuss basic questions concerning the military doctrines and the military strategy of both alliances, as discussed several times during Soviet-U.S. dialogue.

The opening of similar talks between the defense ministers and military experts of other NATO states and the Warsaw Pact—including the GDR and FRG—could be useful and important for getting to know each other better, for better mutual understanding, and for the development of a promising basis for negotiations.

We Do Not Overlook the Resistance [subhead]

In all this we do not overlook the fact that the international situation is still complicated and contradictory, and that the opponents of disarmament are intensifying their activities. The most militant representatives of anticommunism in the important NATO states are making considerable efforts to delay and halt the process of disarmament and confidence-building that has just started, to gain the advantage over the socialist countries, and to push ahead with the arms buildup.

In the FRG several high-ranking military officials, in reacting to the Warsaw Pact proposals, had nothing more urgent to do than to conjure up the fading phantom of the "pressing superiority" of our Joint Armed Forces, to strongly emphasize the "indispensability" of U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe, and declare the strengthening of the "European pillar" of NATO—in particular through modernizing the conventional armed forces and armaments—the "particular duty" of the European NATO states.

As the decisions of the NATO spring sessions again demonstrated, the most influential governments of the member states of this alliance insist on the principle of "nuclear deterrence." They are against any further reductions of nuclear weapons in the European NATO area and are still striving for military supremacy.

This course, which is contrary to Europe's security interests, is most clearly expressed in the plans to "compensate" for the land-based U.S. nuclear missiles, which have to be withdrawn from West Europe and destroyed in line with the intermediate-range missile treaty. This is to be achieved by first rearranging or deploying other, additional intermediate-range nuclear arms systems of the United States, Great Britain, and France. Thus, at the end of April the NATO Nuclear Planning Group decided in Brussels among other things to deploy additional U.S. nuclear combat planes and combat ships in West Europe and in the European fringe seas and to provide additional nuclear-capable combat planes for those NATO states that have such planes.

The transfer to Italy of the squadron of 72 U.S. F-16 fighters that have been stationed in Spain until now will shift these carriers, which are designed to carry nuclear weapons, 1,500 km to the East, into the southern flank of the socialist defense coalition, and will increase the existing NATO superiority in the Mediterranean area. In order to avoid a new escalation of armament, the USSR, on the other hand, has offered to withdraw air forces from advance positions in East Europe, if the United States refrains from transferring its F-16's from Spain to Italy.

A second direction of NATO's striving for military superiority, which directly affects us from the viewpoint of our country's security interests, is the planned "modernization" of nuclear weapons, in particular in NATO's central European area. The FRG critics of NATO's arms buildup are justified in pointing out that not only certain technical improvements are being considered in this connection, but the introduction of principally new generations of weapons. Thus, the operative-tactical "Lance" missile is to be replaced by the mid 1990's by a follow-up system with a greater range—up to 450 kilometers instead of 130 kilometers—greater precision, and programmable charge.

Similar projects also exist with regard to the nuclear carriers of Great Britain and France. Recently the British Government decided to develop over the coming years a new air-to-ground missile with a range between 400 and 500 kilometers and to integrate it into the variety of weapons used by the British "Tornado" fighters. This is one of the new precision proximity weapons [Praezisionsabstandswaffen] which are to be enabled to penetrate our air defense system by means of the radar-absorbing "Stealth" technology.

France has started to refit its new nuclear carrier with a "Mirage 2000 N" fighter bomber squadron. This carrier can make nuclear attacks with a range of up to 1,500 kilometers with air-to-ground missiles and thus has a range that is about 45 percent greater than that of its predecessors.

New high-technology weapons systems are also the clear focal point in NATO's nonnuclear armament programs. As an example let us take the development of airworthy bomb dispensers that are launched by combat planes and are capable of taking thousands of highly explosive scatter mines or homing shells to their target areas over distances of several hundred kilometers. In order to appease the public, some FRG Government politicians claim that the "modernization" of the nuclear systems will be discussed only in the remote future, because at present there is "no need for any decision." But the communiques of NATO meetings use a different language, and as early as April 1986, the U.S. secretary of defense frankly admitted in a talk with FRG journalists: "Modernization is under way. At present we are renewing our nuclear combat planes and our nuclear artillery. Together with the British, we are planning an aircraft missile which is capable of hitting ground targets at greater distances. The decision that the Lance missiles must be compensated for has long been made."

What We Consider Particularly Inopportune [subhead]

Such activities of the military-industrial complex of the main NATO countries, which are anything but favorable for the process of disarmament and confidence-building, mainly serve to increase the capability of the NATO forces to mount a surprise attack. With such weapons systems, the air and naval forces in particular are to be enabled to make sudden "deep attacks"—with or without nuclear weapons—against the centers of the Warsaw Pact's political and military leadership, against intelligence and communications centers, missile sites and airports, staffs and troops, supply sites, and other important targets in order to paralyze the political and military leadership and to deprive the Joint Armed Forces of their ability to develop their defense in a coordinated and planned way. This is what NATO's current operational training rules say. Contrary to the calls of the peace movement and even conservative politicians—which can be heard ever more clearly in the NATO countries, too—to renounce such aggressive, provocative concepts and to give preference to defensive combat principles and armaments, the supreme political and military organs of NATO have categorically rejected this to date. They take every opportunity to emphasize the allegedly "purely defensive" character of NATO's strategy: It is only directed against military threats from the East; therefore, there is no reason to change anything in the current guidelines. But NATO's armament does not just aim at defending it against the nonexistent threat of an attack by the Warsaw Pact forces, there are totally different goals behind all this: We must not be indifferent to the fact that particularly the determined advocates of plans for "compensation" and "modernization" do not hide their intention to eliminate socialism as a social system as soon as they get the chance. Even though these declared enemies of socialism consider a strategic attack too risky at present, they are trying to come closer to their goal by combining the arms race, ideological diversion, and political coercion. And in all its strategic exercises NATO continues training with all forms of the use of military force, all stages of escalation from combat to the selective first use to the massive use of nuclear weapons by all its member forces. The states and the armies of the Warsaw Pact must and will keep close watch on this.

Aggressive Intentions Are Alien to Socialism [subhead]

The Berlin document confirms the defensive nature of our military doctrine and the military activities that have already been undertaken or will have to be undertaken in the future in order to implement it. It is the meaning of socialism to ensure the working people of a life in peace, social protection, and prosperity. No member state of our alliance—nor any social interest group in the socialist community—intends to revise the borders

with other countries or to conquer territory, not to mention of the goal of subjugating another people. In socialism no one gains any social or personal benefit from the arms race or links his own existence with the development of the arms trade and arms profit. There is no socioeconomic base for this here.

And the socialist revolution is no military export commodity either. Marx, Engels, Lenin, and other leaders of the workers movement categorically opposed anarchist and ultraleftist delusions of "fanning" socialist revolutions from the outside and countered such intentions with the principle: Revolutionary changes of social conditions can only be the result of the development of internal contradictions and of the work of the revolutionary classes in the respective country itself.

In the same determined way, however, in which we reject the spreading of socialist social conditions to other countries and peoples by force, we state that we will not permit anyone to eliminate our socialist achievements in an anticommunist crusade! This is guaranteed by the readiness for and capability of defense of the peoples of our community of states under the leadership of their Marxist-Leninist parties, which we will always maintain at the necessary level.

The defensive nature of the socialist military doctrine is expressed as follows, as is set down in the Berlin statement:

—We do not declare any people or any state our enemy.
—We do not have any aggressive intentions against anyone else.
—We will never be the first to start an act of war.
—The USSR will never be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The military preparations and the activities of the Warsaw Pact forces are limited to those things that are necessary to preserve peace and the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our countries in accordance with the UN Charter.

In order to support the assertion of the allegedly offensive character of the Soviet military doctrine, some advocates of NATO strategy—including official representatives of the Bonn Defense Ministry—sometimes quote from older books or articles of socialist military literature, which talk about the offensive destruction of any imperialist aggressor on his own territory.

They deliberately do not mention that during the civil war and the war of intervention, and then during the Great Fatherland War, the Soviet country was repeatedly subjected to brutal aggressions and invasions by imperialist armies, which forced the first worker-peasant state in the world to defend itself while incurring exorbitant casualties and to sometimes even cede great parts of its territory. Only after this, could the Soviet Army—together with the other armies of the anti-Hitler coalition during World War II—start to destroy the imperialist aggressors on their own territory.

Such dubious polemics also keep quiet about the fact that postwar Marxist-Leninist military science drew the lessons from the bitter experiences of the Soviet people and the peoples of Europe. They culminated in the guiding principle: June 1941 will never recur! The socialist forces need a level of combat strength and readiness that will insure they cannot be surprised by any imperialist aggressor.

Nevertheless, the theory and practice of the Soviet Armed Forces and the military efforts of the Warsaw Pact states have always been limited to averting or repelling a potential imperialist aggression, in particular an aggression with nuclear weapons, which they have had to seriously fear since the 1950's because of NATO's strategy of "rolling back" socialism. The more than 3 decades of peace in Europe have not come as a matter of course. They have come to pass not least thanks to our military vigilance and combat readiness.

Finally, the slanderous insinuation of an "offensive orientation" of the military strategy of our socialist defense alliance completely ignores the changes that have taken place in the military, political, and strategic thinking of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact and which are unambiguously expressed in the principles set down in the Berlin statement. This is particularly true of the principle of response actions and the principle of sufficiency or—as it is also called—of sufficient defense capacity.

Response Actions—Not "Preventive Attacks" [subhead]

The principle of response actions says: Our alliance never was and never will be the initiator of military activities that endanger the independence and security of another country. Everything we do to preserve peace and our legitimate security interests in the sphere of defense is done to counteract potential or actual threats to peace and our security. The kind and scope of our military preparations or responses will in any case correspond to the kind and scope of military threat by NATO, which does not mean that the same steps will be taken.

The principle of response actions applies to the entire sphere of our alliance's military policy and strategy. It applies to the provision of the financial, material, and personnel resources necessary for defense, to the development and production of weapons and other technical combat means, to the training and positioning of troops and staffs, and to the potential employment of troops.

Scientists have proved in detail that over the past 4 decades the Soviet Union or any other socialist state has never made the first step to increase armament expenditure or to develop new kinds of weapons. Almost all steps to halt the arms race, for unilateral moratoriums on

nuclear tests over fairly long periods, unilateral reductions of troops, and for other deeds of goodwill originated with the Soviet Union and its allies.

Similar aspects apply to behavior in situations and areas of crises. Year after year it has been proved that the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact members are exercising utmost restraint in this respect, in contrast to the arrogant, provocative actions of some imperialist powers that defy international law. The Soviet Union and all our countries are doing whatever possible to finally cool down the murderous hotbeds of crises that endanger world peace and international security, such as those in the Near and Middle East, and to bring about political solutions to the conflicts in this region, which is demanded, above all, by the vital interests of the people directly affected.

The direct military precautions for our defense also follow the principle of response actions. This means, among other things, that preventive attacks—no matter with which forces and means—are strictly excluded. Combat actions of forces of our alliance or of one member state can and must be started only after there has been a military aggression. Such operations against an aggressor are consistently planned as defense operations and are prepared within the framework of national defense. They are limited to the goal of preventing the aggressor's success under any circumstances. Specifically speaking: Our defense capability and willingness must be so clearly obvious that they make the potential aggressor face a deadly risk under any circumstances and thus keep him from any adventures.

Our military doctrine warns that if our countries are attacked, the forces of the allied states will "crushingly rebuff the aggressor." This is a very serious warning to any aggressor to think about his end before he starts a war. The success for which we are striving is not victory in war but the prevention of war.

Sufficient Defense Capacity—Not "Excessive Armament" [subhead]

The scope of all our defense activities is determined by the principle of sufficient defense capacity. In accordance with the character and scope of NATO armament, it requires the necessary minimum, not the possible maximum of soldiers and weapons, in order to preserve the approximate military balance between the two military coalitions. Our alliance does not strive for military supremacy, which would be necessary to wage a war on the basis of attacks. But we will not permit the other side to achieve such supremacy, either. As long as NATO—as I have already mentioned—continues to have an enormous potential for attacks of strategic scope and intends to considerably increase this potential well into the 1990's, this requires us to maintain an appropriate defense potential. And we will do this—which is also expressed without doubt by the latest resolutions of the Political Consultative Committee and the Committee of the Defense Ministers of the Warsaw Pact States. In contrast to NATO, our alliance, however, in no way insists on the preservation of the current potential, but energetically strives for the fastest possible reduction of the level of military confrontation, until an inability to attack is reached by both sides.

This is proven by the proposals submitted at the Warsaw meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of our alliance's member states. The communique of the Warsaw meeting cites the following as the priority tasks: the 50-percent reduction of the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States, while strictly adhering to the ABM Treaty; a nuclear test ban; a ban on chemical weapons; the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe with a corresponding reduction of military expenditures; and use of the financial means that are freed through disarmament for economic and social development, particularly in the so-called Third World.

A primary concern of the Warsaw meeting was to provide a strong impetus to bringing about new negotiations on disarmament and confidence-building in Europe. Therefore, the statement adopted for this purpose, which is to pave the way for the start of negotiations by the end of this year and the fastest possible conclusion of an agreement, is of particular importance.

Our joint proposal is aimed at reducing the level of the strength of the armed forces and the armament stocks to approximately equal ceilings in a first stage, above all by eliminating imbalances and asymmetries on each side, following the principle that those who have more arms have to disarm.

In the second stage, a reduction by about 25 percent of the armed forces of both sides has to be achieved, including their structural armament, especially those components that can be used for attack.

In a third stage, the armed forces of the two sides would be reduced and restructured to such an extent that they "become strictly defensive in nature."

From the first stage onward, the possibility of surprise attacks should be restricted by the establishment of strips or zones of reduced armament along the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, where the most dangerous and destabilizing weapons systems are withdrawn or partly withdrawn and where military activities—such as exercises and troop transfers—are strictly limited or completely prohibited.

This process would be introduced and accompanied by the official exchange of all necessary information and by strict verification measures, up to permanent monitoring posts and on-site inspections.

Nuclear disarmament remains a priority issue. Separate negotiations on the reduction and ultimate elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe—including the carriers that can be used both for nuclear and nonnuclear weapons—would doubtless contribute to strengthening the stability of the military strategic situation on the continent and to further reducing the danger of wars.

The proposals submitted in Warsaw prove the following: The states of our defense alliance do everything possible to enhance without a pause the process of steady disarmament and confidence building which is necessary to preserve and strengthen peace on our continent. In this, we take into consideration the fears expressed by the NATO countries—no matter whether they are exaggerated or not—and accommodate their wishes and proposals as far as possible in the interest of joint security.

This is certainly one of the reasons why the proposals submitted in Warsaw by our alliance have met with an overall positive response, despite the fact that militarist opponents of further disarmament and detente continue to raise objections. Of course, we will carefully see to it that the defense capability that corresponds to the continued threat to our security is ensured in all stages until corresponding negotiations are opened and agreements concluded. In this, a distinction must be made between what is necessary today to reliably protect socialism and what continues to be required tomorrow after sizable, equal reductions on both sides in armed forces and weapons—particularly arms for surprise attacks—and in forces and means that are necessary for sudden "deep attacks."

The emphasis is on "on both sides" and "equal." At times, certain politicians and members of the military within NATO pretend that today only our allied Armed Forces are capable of launching offense attacks. They also claim that the main criteria for the combat effectiveness of armed forces in the nonnuclear sphere are tanks, of which the armies of the Warsaw Pact states admittedly possess larger numbers than those of NATO states. However, there is never any mention of NATO's superior air attack capacities, of the more far-reaching effectiveness of NATO naval forces and their steady increase. These politicians ignore the fact that NATO continues to be strictly opposed to doing what our defense alliance has again suggested in Warsaw: To stop striving for unilateral superiority regarding types of weapons that are particularly suited for attack operations.

We do not allow ourselves to be discouraged by such onesidedness. We hope that peace forces will become stronger, that reason and realism will continue to penetrate the influential political circles in NATO states. Without reducing our vigilance, we will work for the steady continuation of disarmament and the promotion of confidence, for the conscientious fulfillment of the agreements reached in this respect.

As confirmed by the joint statement of the SED Central Committee Politburo, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers on the results of the Warsaw meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, the GDR "will continue to use all its force to contribute to the further improvement of international relations to make irreversible the change for the better that has been initiated."

Air Squadron Training With PPR To Be Held

AU1108123388 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Aug 88 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On Tuesday [9 August], a flight squadron of the Polish Air Force landed at the National People's Army's "Gebhardt Leberecht von Bluechner" unit air base. Together, the members of the friendly armies will fulfill air combat training tasks and impart their specific experience to one another. The exchange of squadrons with Warsaw Pact air forces is a tradition with the "Gebhardt Leberecht von Bluecher" unit. On the same day, a flight squadron of the National People's Army was transferred to the PPR for training.

SED CC Congratulates Venezuelan CP Leader

AU1208091388 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Aug 88 p 1

[ND report: "Congratulations to Comrade Alonso Ojeda"]

[Text] East Berlin—The SED Central Committee conveyed the following greetings message, signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker, to Alonso Ojeda, General Secretary of the Venezuelan Communist Party Central Committee:

Dear Comrade Alonso Ojeda,

On behalf of the SED Central Committee and on my own behalf, I convey to you our cordial congratulations and fraternal militant greetings on your 70th birthday.

Our party has known you as a persistent, passionate fighter for the interests of the Venezuelan workers class, as a consistent advocate of his people's national interests, as well as a true internationalist.

We appreciate you as a sincere friend of our socialist German worker-peasant state. With your personal committment, you have contributed significantly to the establishing and strengthening of the close and trustful militant alliance of our parties.

Dear Comrade Alonso Ojeda, please accept my best wishes for your health and creative vigor, as well as for the continuing success in your responsible work.

With communist greetings,
SED Central Committee
E. Honecker
General Secretary

Szuros Views Foreign Policy, Nationalities

LD1108131288 Budapest MTI in English
1202 GMT 11 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 11 (MTI)—'How are the foreign policy concepts of Hungary influenced by the domestic policy changes that are also considered important abroad,' the weekly "MAGYAR IFJUSAG" asks Matyas Szuros, secretary of the HSWP CC.

'It has become a general recognition in Hungary that resolute action serving comprehensive renewal and the taking on of unavoidable internal tensions can no longer be postponed. The crucial issues of renewal include a sweeping reform of the political system that is not operating smoothly, and the establishment of an open, humane, democratic and socialist constitutional state. This is indispensable for our economic survival and the implementation of the advancement programme.

'The strategy and daily tasks of our foreign policy are first and foremost determined by these domestic aims. We need not formulate a new foreign policy conception, we have to assert our time-honoured principles more consistently, more bravely, and with more initiative.

'We urge more resolutely the qualitative renewal of cooperation between socialist countries and for it to be regarded as the basis of the balance of national interests.

'Among the socialist countries we see a possibility for Hungary to 'specialize' in the issue of human rights. Acting in this spirit in the Warsaw session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, Hungary proposed to set up a working committee in charge of human rights and humanitarian issues. In the long run we could conceive of Hungary becoming an international centre of political sciences dealing with human rights.

'In recent years Hungarian foreign policy has mainly been active in European issues if it was justified by emphatical Hungarian interests and historical, geographical, economic and other bonds. This was reflected by participation in the tripartite initiative for cooperation between the non-nuclear countries, the proposal for withdrawing from Europe the U.S. F-16 aircraft against appropriate counter-measures, and the endeavour that the reduction of conventional forces and weaponry should be extended to the territory of Hungary in the first phase. In this spirit we announced at the above Warsaw session that Hungary was prepared to coordinate the ideas on alliance level. This division of tasks complies with the efforts to modernize the operation of the Warsaw Treaty and may provide a model for the future.'

On the Hungarians living beyond the borders of Hungary, the HSWP CC secretary said:

'It was not they who left their native land, but the land that changed its border. Hungary how has the largest national minorities in Europe and since Trianon it has been a situation the political leadership has had to face.

'Our principled standpoint has not changed. We consider the Hungarians living beyond our borders part of the nation, and our policy feels responsibility for their fate. We strive to preserve and strengthen the national cohesion of Hungarians and the integrity of our national past, and prevent the dispersion and forced assimilation of Hungarians. We raise our voice against the violation of the collective and individual rights of the national minorities. At the same time our policy reckons with the double affiliation of the minorities to their mother nation and the country whose citizens they are. We are convinced that in the relationship of civilized countries national minorities play a connecting rather than separating role.'

On the Hungarian-Romanian relationship Matyas Szuros said:

'Blame for the aggravating situation should not be laid at our door.... We strive for reconciliation and good-neighbourly cooperation.'

Government Delegates 15 'Experts' to UNIIMOG

LD1008125088 Budapest MTI in English
1155 GMT 10 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 10 (MTI)—On the request of the United Nations Organization, Hungary is delegating 15 experts to the U.N. Iranian-Iraqi Military Observation Group (UNIIMOG). The 350-strong body, with a 6-month mandate, has the duty to precisely define the ceasefire lines accepted by the opposing parties, control observance of the ceasefire, investigate possible violations of the agreement and thwart attempts at altering the situation. UNIIMOG includes military and civilian auxiliary staff besides unarmed observers.

Grosz Receives New Ambassador to Mexico

LD1008185488 Budapest MTI in English
1648 GMT 10 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 10 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Istvan Sarlos, vice-president of the Presidential Council, and Istvan Stadinger, president of the National Assembly, received Antal Solyom, Hungarian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary accredited to the United Mexican States, who is to shortly leave for his post.

Grosz Meets With Angolan Ambassador Punza

LD1008151588 Budapest MTI in English
1429 GMT 10 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 10 (MTI)—On Wednesday Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of

Ministers, met Manuel Quarta Punza, ambassador of the People's Republic of Angola to Hungary. The meeting was requested by the ambassador.

New Government Spokesman Marosan Appointed
LD1108172388 Budapest MTI in English
1610 GMT 11 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 11 (MTI)—The Hungarian Council of Ministers has appointed, with effect from August 11, Gyorgy Marosan as deputy minister and head of the press office of the Council of Ministers. It has commissioned him to fulfil the tasks of the government spokesman.

Council of Ministers Session Reported
LD1108191788 Budapest MTI in English
1700 GMT 11 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 11 (MTI)—At its Thursday session the Council of Ministers noted with approval Karoly Grosz's report on his visit to the United States of America and Canada.

The government specified the tasks of the agencies of state administration involved in the revision of the Constitution, and decided on the related organizational matters.

The Council of Ministers approved a plan of youth policy tasks connected with the government work programme, and passed a decree on a central youth policy fund.

The government endorsed a general plan for the development of Budapest.

Following the session of the government, journalists were briefed by the presenters of the main points on the session's agenda: Minister of Justice Kalman Kulcsar, State Secretary Gabor Deak, president of the State Office for Youth and Sports, and Pal Ivanyi, president of the Budapest Metropolitan Council. The press conference was opened by State Secretary Miklos Raft, president of the office of the Council of Ministers. He introduced Gyorgy Marosan Jr., who was appointed by the Council of Ministers today as deputy minister and commissioned as head of the Press Office of the Council of Ministers. (Gyorgy Marosan, 42, is a qualified physicist, who later on was engaged with science organizational tasks and who was awarded the title of candidate of the philosophical sciences. He was political staff-member of the HSWP Central Committee, then scientific advisor of the Social Sciences Institute.)

Discussing the tasks of the Press Office, Miklos Raft said it is to fulfil the information tasks related to the activity—programme, talks, official visits—of the chairman and deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers. If necessary it will organize press conferences for the chairman or deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, will prepare the communiques to be issued by the prime minister and the deputies. The head of the Press Office—as spokesman—is to prepare and organize the regular briefings of the government spokesman for the domestic and international press. If necessary, he will hold, or will organize, special press conferences, for instance, to publish government declarations, or to set forth governmental positions related to major home political events.

It is the intention of the government that its members take a more active role in the information provided on the work of the government, and for them to meet with the press following the government sessions, and also at other times. At its current session, the Council of Ministers again expressed that it wishes to improve the information of the press both from a quantitative and qualitative point of view, it wishes to better inform the public, not only to explain its decisions, but to include the assistance of both the social interest representation organs and the public in the decision-making process, said Miklos Raft. Gyorgy Marosan then took the floor.

Gyorgy Marosan said: The work of the government spokesman is to change in the future, precisely because the government intends a greater role to the information of the public. "I wish to rely on the well-tested forms which my predecessor, Rezso Banyasz set up. I would, however, like to progress further, striving for more up to date, flexible and rapid information", he said. Gyorgy Marosan added that the task of the government spokesman is to provide information. Thus he provides facts, rather than an opinion. Facts and information about what the government is doing, what it wishes to do, and what intentions and goals guide its work.

Pal Ivanyi was the first to elaborate on today's session, discussing the general plan for the development of the capital. He said the fact that the Council of Ministers now acknowledged this programme has significance in itself. Formerly, the government decided about such plans, now—while taking note of an acknowledging it—it has authorized the Budapest metropolitan council to approve the plan being prepared on the basis of the programme, in its own scope of authority by the end of the year.

Journalists inquired about the preparations for the 1995 World Expo in Budapest. Pal Ivayi said, among others, that no decision has been made with respect to the venue of the world exhibition, three areas are currently in the focus of consideration, and the technical-econmic analysis related to selection is expected to be completed at the end of August. A genuine decision can be made following this, by taking into consideration that a decision on the organizational rights of the world exhibition will only be made in December.

In the following Minister of Justice Kalman Kulcsar, who today presented the report related to the Constitution at the session of government, recalled that the

national party conference made the re-examination of the Constitution the task of the government. At its session today, the Council of Ministers discussed and approved the organizational frameworks and scheduling of this work. Analyzing the organizational frameworks, the minister referred to the fact that a constitutional committee was earlier set up in parliament which follows the preparations with attention from the part of the National Assembly, and discusses the issues related to the theme. Another committee affiliated to the Central Committee coordinates the activity related to the high-level political decisions. The minister of justice received the task of setting up the state organizational frameworks of the preparatory work. The so-called scientific committee is to work under the chairmanship of the minister, several prominent representatives of constitutional law and poltical sciences participate in its work, as do the chairmen of the committees dealing with the preparation of the Constitution. Ten work committees have been set up to examine the current structure of the Constitution and certain groups of themes, the chairmen of these are state leaders and prominent representatives of scientific life.

The minister added: Persons representing a different way of thinking have also been requested to work in the committees, with the aim of utilizing their professional knowledge. According to the conceptions of the government, the Central Committee and the National Assembly will both form an opinion on the first text of the draft of the Constitution by December 31, 1989, following public debate.

In connection with the re-examination of the Constitution Kalman Kulcsar said: We have to decide not only normally, but with respect to content, whether a new Constitution, or the thorough amendment of the old one is necessary. If the amendments in content are of a magnitude that cannot be solved in the framework of the old one, then the committee, and in all probability government as well, will decide on a new Constitution, however, it would be premature to predict this.

State Secretary Gabor Deak, president of the State Office for Youth and Sports (AISH), informed journalists that the government approved the regulation of the central youth fund. Discussing the reasons of the regulation, he said: Operation of the fund had to be coordinated with the amendment of the law on state finances, by enforcing the experiences gathered in the past two years. With respect to the new regulation the state secretary noted that assistance through competition, open to all, will receive a greater role. It was also unanimously formulated that the Communist Youth Union of Hungary (KISZ) and the Pioneer Federation is to receive the right of agreement, the National Youth Council of the Trade Unions the right of forming an opinion.

Car Sales to Public Suspended; Allotment Assessed
LD1108190288 Budapest MTI in English
1628 GMT 11 Aug 88

[Text] Budapest, August 11 (MTI)—The Hungarian minister of trade has suspended with immediate effect the central sale of cars to public institutions and individuals who are not on the waiting list.

Cars will be issued for valid allocations that have arrived by the above date.

Fewer cars arrived in Hungary in 1988 than last year, and the total car import is also expected to lag behind the planned. The aim of the measure is to restrict the increasing waiting time of the population, and to promote the re-examination of the car allocations system that is already in progress.

Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai, minister of trade, gave a statement to MTI on the background of the measure.

"As is known, fewer cars will arrive in Hungary from our socialist partners this year than planned. In 1987, we imported 145,000 cars, and our plans calculated with imports of 145,000 cars for this year as well. However, according to our current information—and I stress this for the situation of the moment as we are holding regular talks, at times debates with our partners—we shall be able to market only about 120,000 cars.

"The practice of the former years, which made it possible to purchase a considerable number of cars over that allocated to the population, poses a far too great burden in the current situation. In 1987, about one-fourth of the cars arriving from the socialist countries were purchased in this way. The cars not included on the waiting list for the population were sold by the Merkur Company mainly to public institutions, enterprises, organizations, institutions, and, to a lesser extent, private individuals were also able to acquire these cars if they paid a 10 per cent surplus price and requested special allocation by right of some legal title. Incidentally, this year we had considerably reduced the number of cars marketed this way.

"The Ministry of Trade is now re-examining the entire system of the allocation of cars, as the current construction is complicated and is not rational. Following the current measure, we shall accelerate this activity, naturally in harmony with the work aimed at expanding the domestic car sources", said Jozsef Marjai.

UNIIMOG Group Preparing for Mission

LD1108153188 Warsaw PAP in English
1429 GMT 11 Aug 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Aug. 11—Preparations are under way for the departure of a group of the Polish Army officers sent under a decision of Poland's authorities at the U.N. request to the UNIIMOG (the United Nations Iraq and Iran Military Observers Group). They will take part in monitoring and supervising the observance of the ceasefire between Iraq and Iran. The ceasefire will come into effect as of August 20 and on this day the UNIIMOG will start fulfilling its duties. The Polish Army officers, who will do service in the UNIIMOG command and on both sides of the front, will be on the spot still before the day when the ceasefire comes into force.

The UNIIMOG is another international peace mission in which the Polish Army representatives take part. Participation of representatives of the Polish Army in peace missions worldwide has dated back since 1953 and concerned the Korean peninsula, Indochina, Nigeria and Sinai. [passage omitted]

Greek Treatment of Polish Tourists Protested

LD1108153088 Warsaw PAP in English
1214 GMT 11 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 11—In connection with the way Polish tourists were treated by Greek functionaries at the Bulgarian-Greek Kulata border crossing Charge d'Affaires a.i. of the Embassy of Greece in Poland Ioannis Papadopoulos was summoned by the Polish Foreign Ministry on Wednesday, the ministry's press spokesman reported.

Consular department director Krzysztof Szumski demanded an immediate putting an end to discriminating procedure applied towards Polish tourists. He pointed out that such practices might negatively influence favourably developing relations between both countries. The Polish official discussed the humanitarian aspect of the issue, stressing that long waiting for customs-passport procedure to end was particularly tiresome for tourists who often travelled with children.

Papadopoulos promised to immediately inform Greek authorities on the problem and assured the Polish side that any activities which might worsen the state of mutual relations did not lie in the interest of Greece.

Poland's Embassy in Athens also decided to intervene in the affair while a representative of the Polish Embassy in Sofia left for Kulata to take measures on the spot.

Polish authorities will consider the suspension of tourist exchange with Greece if the situation does not improve.

Solidarity Leader Predicts Trouble in Autumn

AU1108190588 Paris AFP in English
1830 GMT 11 Aug 88

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 11 (AFP)—Poland is in for a "hot autumn" of social unrest, a leading member of the banned trade union Solidarity said here Thursday.

"Buying power" and "working conditions" of Poles are declining rapidly and political leaders continue to "resist any economic initiative," Zbigniew Bujak told a press conference.

The clandestine organisation has urged workers to use the August 31 anniversary of the 1980 Gdansk accords legalizing Solidarity as an opportunity to present demands for better working conditions.

The union was outlawed when martial law was declared in Poland on December 13, 1981.

Meanwhile three members of a recently-created strike committee at the Lubin copper mines in southwestern Poland were held by police for six hours, a leading opposition figure said.

Jacek Kuron told a press conference police warned the men late Wednesday not to speak at a planned August 16 meeting at the mines and not to encourage the 45,000 miners to strike.

Government Talks With Miners' TU Federation End

LD1108211688 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2000 GMT 11 Aug 88

[Text] The negotiations between representatives of the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions, led by federation Deputy Chairman Stefan Piwonski, and a government group consisting of representatives of the Ministries of Industry, Finance, and Labor and Social Policy, led by Deputy Industry Minister Andrzej Wroblewski, have ended in the Ministry of Industry.

The two sides discussed a draft decree of the Council of Ministers on adjusting the legal regulations on the principles of establishing enterprise remuneration systems to the special characteristics of mining industry enterprises and also to the miners' charter.

The initial draft of the decree has been agreed and, once it has been seen and discussed by union organizations, it will be presented to the Council of Ministers this month for assessment.

Council of Ministers Confers on Economy

AU1208072188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Aug 88 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "Council of Ministers Meets"]

[Text] The Government Press Office reports that the Council of Ministers met on 8 August. A draft report entitled "An Assessment of the Economic Situation and the Implementation of the Central Annual Plan During the First 6 Months of 1988 and Potential Dangers" was prepared.

An analysis of the results obtained during the first half of this year indicates that there has been a rapid growth in industrial output and that it will be possible to accomplish, or even exceed, the majority of production tasks for this year. The growth in industrial output is 6.4 percent higher than projected (the projected level being 3.7 to 4 percent). Although the rate at which industrial output is increasing will slacken during the second half of this year, plan targets in this area are expected to be exceeded. There has been a decline in the consumption of basic raw materials per unit of production, an increase in productivity, and a significant drop in energy consumption levels in industry.

Construction industry enterprise output levels were 6 percent higher than a year ago and have exceeded projections. The rate at which output has been increasing has generated a higher demand for construction industry materials. This has also affected housing construction. Nevertheless, the number of housing units completed and available for occupancy was higher in both the socialized construction sector (2.4 percent) and the individual construction sector (12.7 percent). Work was also started on the construction of a higher number of new housing units than during the first half of 1987.

Forecasts indicate that this year's grain harvest levels will be higher than projected. This is primarily because of improvements in the crop structure. However, last year's record levels will not be reached. The cultivation of oleaginous plants, potatoes, vegetables, and fruit is proceeding better than a year ago. The expected increase in the number of pigs has occurred, which indicates that there will be an increase in procurement during the final quarter of this year, and the downward trend in cattle rearing is leveling off.

Foreign trade is developing positively. An increase of 13.1 percent in exports and 15.7 percent in imports, as well as advantageous terms of trade with countries belonging to the first payments area means that good progress is being made in accomplishing balance of trade objectives for this year.

There was a high rate of investment in the socialized economy (15.9 percent) accompanied by a further improvement in the structure of investment.

The high growth rate means that the danger that Central Annual Plan provisions will not be fulfilled is confined to a limited number of areas.

The principal negative phenomenon affecting the mood of society during the first half of this year was the danger that market equilibrium would be further disrupted with regard to consumer goods, capital goods, and raw materials.

Enterprise after-tax profits amounted to 87 percent at the end of the first 5 months of this year. This indicates that the increase in resources for expansion will be higher than the increase in the supply of capital goods and services. This high rate of increase has generated strains in the supply situation. The 63.7-percent increase in personal income and the 51-percent increase in retail prices accompanied by the low rate of increase, and in some cases decline, in the supply of goods has impacted negatively on the consumer goods market. This is something that has been acutely felt by citizens. This is why problems connected with the stabilization of the market have recently been one of the main areas of government activity.

The Council of Minister approved the draft document and advised—in accordance with what was discussed—that it provide as full a picture of the economy as possible, one that takes account of both positive and negative developments and their objective causes. The Council of Ministers stressed the need to formulate economic analyses in a manner that is not at variance with public perceptions. After the suggestions made during the discussion have been taken into account, the report will be conveyed to the trade unions for the purpose of formulating a joint assessment.

The Council of Ministers approved a report on the accomplishment of tasks stemming from the program for the implementation of the second stage of the economic reform for the period from October 1987 through 30 June 1988. The implementation program envisaged that 128 tasks would be undertaken during this period. The tasks covered the stabilization of the economy, increasing supply, the reorganization of the price structure, the strengthening of the national currency, and the reorganization of the system for the administration of the economy. Particular attention was devoted to developing the market, encouraging initiative, promoting the creation of new enterprises, strengthening export-oriented activity, and creating conditions that would result in a breakthrough in housing construction and local economies.

The Council of Ministers also approved a report on the implementation of the law granting the government extraordinary powers and prerogatives. In accordance with Article 7 of the law, reports of this kind are to be submitted to the Sejm every 3 months.

The Council of Ministers adopted a decree on a stabilizing tax. It is being introduced in order to encourage enterprises to make more efficient use of fixed assets. The tax will help to reduce the state budget deficit, which is one inflationary factor.

The stabilizing tax will be levied on socialized economic units and other legal persons, with the exception of companies with a foreign capital interest that have been created on the basis of the 6 July 1983 Resolution. The taxation rate will amount to 5 percent of the net value of a unit's fixed assets, and the tax will also affect development funds and other similarly important funds. It was also agreed that the tax will not exceed 20 percent of surpluses or profits for distribution.

The stabilizing tax will be paid in three installments over the course of a year.

The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution increasing funds for improving salaries paid to teachers, college faculties, college employees, economists, and technical and administrative staff.

The Council of Ministers adopted a decree raising some of the benefits paid for work-related accidents or illnesses. From 1 October 1988, the one-shot compensation paid in the event of death resulting from a work-related accident or illness will amount to Z1 million. From 1 January 1989, compensation for damage to health calculated at 1 percent will amount to Z10,000.

The Council of Ministers adopted a decree on the taxation rate on supernumerary pay and the principles for determining pay levels exempt from taxation.

The decree envisages raising the size of concessions for enterprises that operate on an on-going basis and establish the level of funds for pay in accordance with the ceiling formula. The change means that 25 percent of pay of this kind—rather than 20 percent, which has been the case until now—will be exempt from taxation. It is envisaged that this decision will have a stabilizing effect on employment and will result in an increase in production.

The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on the part of the Central Annual Plan for 1989 that deals with imports from second payments area countries and on certain regulatory measures pertaining to foreign trade.

In accordance with the resolution, which affects the range of imports that are financed centrally, important changes will be made to Central Annual Plan provisions for next year. It is envisaged that there will be a significant increase in the sums allocated for imports. There will be a shift away from the central financing of foreign currency purchases of some goods to financing based on competitive bidding for foreign currency and additional financing from decentralized sources (retained hard currency earnings allowances). Greater attention has to be accorded domestic market needs, including the needs of the dairy industry, in drawing up lists of goods that are to be imported. Efforts will be made to find institutional solutions that will ensure that this industry is self-financing in terms of foreign currency in the very near future.

The Council of Ministers adopted a decree on the transfer of ownership of agricultural fixed assets, the abolition of joint ownership, and the inheritance of agricultural holdings.

The changes introduced by the decree are designed to maintain the production functions of agricultural holdings. This means—in so far as this accords with the provisions of the land management plan—that agricultural holdings must retain their productive functions when they are acquired by a new owner, or when ownership is transferred in some other way.

The Council of Ministers examined and adopted executive regulations on the modified military service law.

The first regulation lays down the procedure in line with which those draftees will do substitute military service whose applications for such service have been approved by administrative offices. The regulation also lays down how plant managers have to keep records of such draftees and how these draftees will effectively accomplish their tasks. The regulation lists duties and privileges of draftees on substitute military service and defines the procedure of their release.

The second regulation changes the rules of the substitute and national service in civil defense, defines the new composition of the draftee commissions enlarged by the inclusion of representatives of the people's councils and PRON, and lays down the procedure of releasing draftees from substitute service if it is legally necessary for them to look after a relative or to run the farms they own. The scope of privileges due to draftees on substitute service and to their dependents was specified.

The third regulation stems from the resolution adopted by the Council of Ministers with regard to civil defense units doing national service in civil defense. The regulation adapts the structure of civil defense units to include socially useful work done by the labor corps of these units. The scope of this work was enlarged by the 13 July 1988 law. These solutions will make it possible to establish new-purpose units (for example, sanitary, technical, civil records, and other units) and to post those draftees to national service in civil defense who previously were to be posted to the abolished substitute service.

Against the background of the country's situation, the Council of Ministers examined a set of problems resulting from proposals formulated by recent Politburo sessions and recent meetings of voivodship party secretaries and voivodas.

The Council of Ministers evaluated the supply of meat and milk. The present production of milk stands at 410kg per head. Although this is one of the highest indicators in Europe, poor storage and packing facilities waste much milk and lower its quality. The breeding of cows is being intensified as attested to by their increased milk production and by the halting of the drop of cattle for many years.

The crucial reasons for our inability to increase and improve the production of milk and its products include shortages of dairy equipment and transportation means. Another reason is the dispersal of milk producers, of whom only 1 percent supplies over 50 liters of milk daily and 30 percent fewer than 30 liters. This structure makes it necessary to maintain too many milk collecting points and to employ as many as 32,000 workers for milk transportation. The equipment used by animal and veterinary services responsible for health protection and rational stockbreeding still requires many improvements.

Analyses show that local shortages of meat and its products are caused by poor distribution systems, poor transportation, and unreasonable prices. Government activities are primarily designed to increase production of cattle and to improve the facilities of stockbreeding. The program to improve the quality and variety of dairy products is being realized and the system of dairy subsidies is being modified. The increase in the subsidies is connected with the relative cheapening of dairy products in relation to average wages. Fodder subsidies also continue to increase. Efforts to improve the ratio between dairy retail prices and procurement prices are continuing. Work is also going on to improve the system of the necessary production subsidies in such way as to ensure support for efficient producers and not to pay for waste and red tape. We are also working out a system of supporting the groups of local producers at the expense of their central unions, which benefit by taxation concessions. The complete realization of those decisions will make it possible to procure the planned 1 billion liters of milk. This will help us to further increase the production of milk and its products.

The Council of Ministers asked the Central Union of Dairy Cooperatives and the National Union of Cattle Breeders to decidedly improve services for farmers and to ensure a better milk economy.

The production of meat resembles the situation in dairy production. The purchasing power of average wages insofar as meat prices are concerned has been increasing as of 1984. In 1984 the average wage could buy 22kg of meat, but now it can buy 31kg. That is why already in 1987 the consumption of meat was by 2.3kg above the level planned for 1990.

The 1988 Central Annual Plan stipulates that meat supplies to shops will amount to 1.76 million tonnes, which will fully meet the rationed requirements. Meat shortages in shops and lines for meat are mainly caused by the inefficient system of supplies to shops. The increased interest in better quality meat and smoked meat went hand in hand with the shortage and low quality of giblets, poultry, and inferior smoked meat. The increased demand for meat has also been caused by shortages of fish and dairy products and by higher prices on vegetables and fruit.

The availability of meat from free slaughter is also a crucial factor in the level of meat consumption. Compared with the first 6 months of last year, the free sales of meat in market places increased almost 58 percent this year. The suppliers of meat to the market places will now also be joined by state farms. The present forecasts show that the tasks planned for 1988 will be fulfilled.

The Council of Ministers decreed measures to improve the economy of meat and to eliminate waste. Ministers and voivodas have been instructed to strengthen supervision over and to ensure discipline in realizing the meat distribution in force.

The Council of Ministers decreed to expand land reclamation operations and to increase funds for them. These operations are continuing according to plan, and it is expected that this year about 140,000 hectares of land will be reclaimed, which is about 14,000 hectares more than last year. Keeping the high rate of land reclamation will help to fully accomplish the tasks laid down by the national socioeconomic plan.

The Council decreed that extra funds will be made available for the work associated with land reclamation operations and for the production of necessary materials and equipment.

The Council issued a decree on temporary changes in the principles relating to the resources used for wages.

As is the case with the so-called Slupsk experiment, housing construction units which have increased their production by at least 10 percent this year will be relieved of taxation on the above-the-norm wages paid in the second half of 1988.

The Council issued a decree on reliefs from taxation on above-the-norm wages. These reliefs will apply to the units whose production and services are of great social importance and in which present wages are exceptionally low. That is why the decree applies to health services, farm produce procurement points, vacation centers, and so on.

The Council issued a decree in line with which the Polish Committee for Standardization and Measures will control the quality of products, services, work, and buildings.

Three kinds of control will be practiced, depending on the size and importance of the building—commission quality control, problem control, and simplified control.

Commission control will involve all technical, organizational, economic, and fiscal factors that affect the quality of products. Products of basic significance for the material-technical and cooperative supplies will also be controlled.

Problem control and simplified control will find out whether the quality of products and services satisfies the norms in force and whether the quality measures recommended by the Polish Committee for Standardization and Measures are effectively implemented.

Jaruzelski Interviewed on Pomerania Trip

LD1108164688 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2040 GMT 10 Aug 88

[From the "Commentaries" program]

[Text] [Announcer] Good evening ladies and gentlemen. I invite you to watch today's Commentaries program. Wojciech Jaruzelski has ended a 2-day stay in Pomerania, in the Koszalin and Slupsk Voivodships, visiting farmers and employees of various enterprises who provide services for the countryside and for agriculture. He also met with young people who are staying in vacation camps.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] What conclusions have you drawn? What impressions did you get after your 2-day stay?

[Jaruzelski] I think it is too early to answer that question. There were very many impressions, and a wide range of observations. After all, you were there during our whole stay in the countryside. There were contacts in villages, with all its sectors, with young people, with veterans—if we may call them this. There were many impressions, but more importantly conclusions that we will have to use in our work. But the most important thing is that people in this region—although I am sure it is the same all over the country, despite all the problems we must contend with—continue to work, to procreate. There are material achievements, but also in other areas one can see activity. Personally, I am pleased with this visit.

[Correspondent] General, sir, I heard that you twice—well, I do not know whether you lost your cool, but you used the expression: This is a scandal. The first time was when lime, of which there is a shortage, was mentioned; and then today when you heard that the cooperative fund does not receive interest at the Polish National Bank. Will any inferences be drawn from this?

[Jaruzelski] As far as the first instance is concerned, one must admit that it is a scandal that in so many years we have been unable to solve this matter. But it is slowly being satisfactorily concluded—at last, and luckily so. Later when we were clarifying this in greater detail it turned out that there were also drawbacks in distribution; so the subject of lime should—as Comrade Michalek has informed me—be resolved in the very near future.

But of course it is irritating when one sees that something that was fairly simple takes so long to be cleared up.

As for the second matter, I do not even know whether I used the word scandal. I do not think I did. Did I? It is possible. I believe this needs to be cleared up; there could be some reason for the bankers to act this way, but I believe—at least on the basis of what I have heard from the chairman of the cooperative—that this is irrational and unjustified. I could be wrong, I do not know. We will have to clarify this. If we are talking about the equality of the sectors, the equality must be complete at all levels.

[Correspondent] There were also situations when you said some of the matters would have to be taken up at the next Politburo meeting. Is such a trip into the country to the people really an inspiration for party forum deliberations?

[Jaruzelski] Undoubtedly. It yields, above all, a large stock of concrete examples and concrete facts that can be used to illustrate and underpin the knowledge I already have. As information comes in, I carefully study it daily. But one thing is written information (?that one) familiarizes oneself with, theoretically; another is if it can be identified concretely in the area, in various concrete situations. Thus, there is no doubt that we use it. Every such trip is very useful.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much.

[Jaruzelski] Thank you. [end recording]

Premier's Decree on Plant Liquidation

AU1108140788 Warsaw RZECZPSOPOLITA in Polish 9 Aug 88 p 2

["Premier's Decree No 26 of 5 August 1988 on Liquidating State Enterprises"]

[Text] In line with Article 1, Item 2, Sub-Item C of the 11 May 1988 law on the special powers for the Council of Ministers (THE OFFICIAL GAZETTE No 13, Item 98) and in line with Paragraph 1, Item 2 of the Council of Ministers Resolution of 23 May 1988 on entrusting the premier with certain special powers, the following measures are decreed:

Paragraph 1

The following state plants are liquidated:

1) The Weglopochodne trade, service, and production plant in Gliwice, Plebiscytowa 1, Katowice Voivodship.

2) The Plytozbyt enterprise trading in boards and plywood, Bydgoszcz, Fordonska 159.

3) The Chemoplast enterprise trading in synthetic compounds, Gliwice, Marchlewskiego 6, Katowice Voivodship.

Paragraph 2

The minister of domestic market will execute the decisions in Paragraph 1.

Paragraph 3

Item 2 of Article 5 of Rider 1 of the premier's decree No 17 of 21 June 1988 on splitting and liquidating state enterprises is changed to read: "2) The deadline of the splitting is 1 October 1988."

Paragraph 4

This decree comes into force on the day of its signing.

Signed: Vice Premier Zbigniew Szalajda on behalf of the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Military Service, Alternatives Viewed

AU1008111088 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish
8 Aug 88 p 2

[Commentary signed 'a': "Alternative Service"]

[Text] The Sejm's amended law of 13 July on the general duty to defend the PPR has created the possibility of alternative service as of 1 September for draftees who, out of religious conviction or moral principles, wish to fulfill their defense duty in a way that is different to basic military service, civil defense, or student military training. The provisions of the amendment fully conform to UN Human Rights Committee Resolution 46 of 1987, which called on the member countries to consider various forms of alternative service for persons for whom a conflict of conscience prohibits traditional military service.

This solution also complies with the International Treaty on Human and Political Rights, which Poland has ratified and which states in Article 8 that any activity of a military nature does not constitute a duty, and that in countries that permit objection to military service, any activity for the benefit of the state called for by the legislation dealing with objectors also does not constitute such duty. In connection with the Sejm amendment, the PPR assistant prosecutor general and chief military prosecutor applied to the State Council for an amnesty vis-a-vis the eight persons in prison for having refused military service on grounds of conscience. Having decided that particular social considerations speak in favor of such an amnesty and having heard of the prisoners' assurances that they would accept alternative service after their release, the State Council decreed their immediate release. In addition, military prosecutors have applied for parole for 86 persons in prison for having refused military service for religious reasons, and for one person who refused military service out of pseudopacifist motives.

There is only one person for whom no application for release was made, because he had categorically refused to accept the alternative service foreseen in the 13 July amendment. He is Slawomir Dutkiewicz. He stubbornly decided to continue to play the "martyr" and refused to back down. But time and the advice of his friends did their work. Exactly 3 weeks after the adoption of the new law, in other words 3 August, Slawomir Dutkiewicz, in prison for having refused military service, made a written declaration in which he committed himself to alternative service.

Because of his change of attitude, the chief military prosecutor has applied for his release from prison until the amnesty proceedings are completed. If the State Council approves, Slawomir Dutkiewicz and his friends may commence their alternative service in the near future; of course, on condition that their health meets the requirements laid down by the relevant commission.

This service will be performed outside the Armed Forces in a given enterprise (workplace) in the sphere of social welfare, protection of the environment and waters, and provision of communal services. It will permit socially useful activity, and will show that the personal convictions and moral principles that have been displayed so spontaneously can be put to good use in the form of disciplined and efficient work for the sake of the common good.

Mikulic Urges 'Realistic' Accounting System

LD1108200288 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1610 GMT 11 Aug 88

[Text] Belgrade, August 11 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav economy needs a system of accounting that will be more realistic, comprehensive and simple. It would supersede all up to date regulations, Premier Branko Mikulic said concluding a discussion on the new accounting system at the government economic reform comission session today.

The purpose of the new accounting system is to enable the operations of Yugoslav economy [to] become comparative to those in the world, all the more so as the country counts on a much larger volume of mutual investments and other forms of cooperation with foreign partners. Also concluded at the session was that the annual balance sheets in the new accounting system should reflect precisely the situation in the enterprises and in the national economy as a whole.

What remained unclarified was whether the Yugoslav enterprises should have double or only single entry bookkeeping, which is relevant to the foreign partners as it would make them have the same kind of bookkeeping.

Freedom Committee Criticizes Tito's Role

AU1108074488 Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene No 31-32 29 Jul 88 pp 48-49

[Letter from the Committee for the Protection of Freedom of Thought and Expression: "Who Was Josip Broz Tito?"

[Text] To the SFRY Presidium,
To the SFRY Assembly,
To the Yugoslav public:

Proposal for a Free and Critical Assessment of the Historical Role of Josip Broz Tito [subhead]

From its foundation, the Committee for the Protection of Freedom of Thought and Expression has been advocating an abolition of the limitation of the freedom of thought and expression. The criticism of the rulers' work constitutes the very core of freedom of thought, and suffers no exceptions. What applies to the holders of power in a democratic system, also applies to former statesmen and politicians. All the leading personalities of World War II (Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin, Mao Zedong, Hitler) are dead and have taken their place in history. However, the political role of the former Yugoslav president of the Republic has not yet been placed in an objective historical framework.

Modern history writing, the professional and pedagogical understanding and interpretation of the modern history of the Yugoslav peoples are still predominantly determined by party ideological propaganda. Social sciences are still restricted by ideological mythology and part taboos and are exposed to incessant blows from bureaucratic subjectivism and the ideology of officials. The urgently needed freedoms for a free, objective assessment of Josip Broz' role are still lacking in our country. An unbiased assessment of Josip Broz' political activities and his personage must beat retreat before an idolizing pursuance of his cult and primitive ritual expressions of devotion (Even after Tito, there is Tito). So far, the attempts to make a radical and critical examination of the past and of the events in the past—in which neither Tito nor his associates (Edvard Kardelj and others) would be privileged and protected by taboos—have been ideologically disqualified as "de-Titoization." Juridical practice respects the legal prescription which protects "the highest organs of authority and the representatives of these organs," including a dead president, from defamation, in some cases with very severe punishment and sentences.

Josip Broz' share in adopting the decisive political decisions and his absolute influence on the overall political development of the state are such that one cannot understand or explain the latest history of Yugoslavia and its present position—and especially the present severe social crisis in the country—without a free, comprehensive, and objective scientific and critical reassessment of Josip Broz Tito's historical responsibility. The question of a free reassessment of Josip Broz Tito's critical responsibility, of course, is not an expression of a cheap desire to persistently poke about the past. The thing is that there can be no way out of the present general socioeconomic, political, and moral crisis, into which Yugoslav society is sinking deeper and deeper, without a thorough critical examination of the entire Yugoslav policy so far; and this cannot happen unless the person who is most responsible for the present situation in Yugoslavia and for the future and the fate of its many peoples is subjected to an objective analysis and criticism.

In this sense, it would be urgent to examine the causes of the present social crisis, and where its beginning lies; the crisis is evident in the catastrophic economic situation, in national and social antagonisms, in the monopoly rule of a bureaucratic oligarchy, in the absence of a true political democracy and responsibility, in frightening ethnic and economic migrations, in the crushing debt of the state, in unemployment, and in inflation, in social poverty and the hopelessness of a large part of the population, in failed investment and in economic crimes, and in increasing scientific and technological lagging. This criticism must be accompanied by specific assessments of the work of all the main factors of the system and the policy, above all the former president of the Republic, who for decades held absolute political power in the state.

The declared direction of de-Stalinizing Yugoslavia has not led to the creation of a democratic, productive, and civilized society, even after 4 decades, but a political system has arisen that, with its structure, prevents the general progressive development of society. Numerous

objective and subjective factors have contributed to such an unfortunate result of the Yugoslav alternative to "real socialism," and Josip Broz Tito is the most responsible among them.

The question of Kosovo is closely linked with the overall national policy which the Communist Party of Yugoslavia or the LCY has carried out in Yugoslavia, and whose negative trends have reached a culmination in the past few decades. Immediately after Josip Broz' death, one of the SFRY Presidency members warned about the harm of the policy that was carried out in accordance with the slogan, "Weak Serbia, strong Yugoslavia." It would therefore be necessary to examine the circumstances, the forms of expression, and all the consequences of such a policy, and primarily of the state organization of Yugoslavia as established by the 1974 Constitution, which put Serbia in an unequal position as regards the other republics. It should be examined whether the concept of asymmetric federalism in Yugoslavia, i.e. the introduction of autonomous provinces with the attributes of state sovereignty only within one republic, is a consequence of such a policy. It should also be established if, and to what extent, the present unresolved constitutional position of Serbia is a direct result of this policy.

It would be particularly necessary to examine the forms and the extent of political repression of alleged or real political dissenters in postwar Yugoslavia, in which way the monster of a permanent civil war and of a constant danger to the system was kept alive and a true democratization of society was prevented. The majority of various repressive political measures were later minimized in official explanations, explained by citing alleged objective circumstances, and justified with higher demands of state interest. In other cases, the responsibility for excessive and unnecessary violence was shifted from the shoulders of those who created policy to those who implemented it, especially those who were later politically liquidated and who were removed from public life in an equally violent way. The policy of repression against dissenters began with the so-called left deviations and sectarianism during the war, and the retributions and revenge at the end of the war. After the war, repression in various forms hit all those who, ahead of time, began to criticize statism, the bureaucratization of social and economic life, or the unprepared and reckless forced collectivization of the countryside, because of which the most numerous social stratum, the peasants, suffered. All the circumstances in which Goli Otok, one of the most sinister camps in modern Europe, was set up and operated have not been objectively studied yet. All these and similar forms of political violence cannot be examined without shedding light on the role that Josip Broz played in this.

The foreign policy field is particularly important in the critical examination of the historical role of the former president of the Republic. The development of events in the world has long posed the question of to what extent this foreign policy isolated the state from its natural cultural-historical, economic, and political environment, by trying to bring it closer to Asia and Africa and pull it away from Europe. Yugoslav foreign policy, which in words was in favor of equality and democratic principles, often ended by supporting a number of dictatorial regimes and their leaders who consistently violated these principles, for they used crude forms of violence and torture against their subjects. The question should also be asked to what extent such policy was at all suited to the position, size, and material capabilities of Yugoslavia, and what its true cost was.

The state expenses for the realization of the ambitious idea about the world historical role of Yugoslavia, to the creation and development of which the former president of the republic contributed most, inevitably pose the question: What were the real costs of his reign? In the majority of democratic countries, several legal regulations determine the annual income and expenditure of the highest state officials, and laws prescribe the maximum value (which often is merely symbolic) of gifts that statesmen may personally accept as long as they hold certain public offices. The tradition of a civil list—a public discussion of and decision on the annual income of the head of state—in several European states is several centuries old. The civil lists of the rulers, princes, and kings of Serbia and Yugoslavia were often the subject of sharp polemics in parliament and among the public, and they sometimes led to serious political crises. Owing to family quarrels about the estate and numerous reports on Josip Broz' life, after his death the question of the wealth and the property he possessed arose, the extent and origins of which are unknown up to this day. In a state that does not belong to the developed countries and that has long been affected by economic and social crisis, unemployment, a falling standard of living, an absence of social security, and loss of prospects for young people, the question of the expenses of power and the cost of rulers is posed as a moral demand that a more precise insight into the income and wealth of the holders of public office should be ensured in the future.

These are only some of the possible approaches to the study of Josip Broz Tito's role in Yugoslavia's modern history. This proposal for a free and critical reassessment of Josip Broz' role therefore constitutes an assignment of historical truth and an urgent need in the search for a way out of the grave and general crisis in Yugoslav society, and a spiritual, moral, and psychological prerequisite for establishing higher political culture in the Yugoslav field.

On behalf of the Committee,
Tanasije Mladenovic, Mica Popovic.

Committee for the Protection of Freedom of Thought and Expression: [subhead] Tanasije Mladenovic, writer, Borislav Mihajlovic-Mihiz, writer, Professor Ljubomir Tadic, member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts [SASA], Dragoslav Mihailovic, member of the SASA, Professor Mihailo Markovic, member of the

SASA, Professor Predrag Palavestra, member of the SASA, Professor Radovan Samardzic, member of the SASA, Matija Beckovic, member of the SASA, Professor Dragoslav Srejovic, member of the SASA, Dobrica Cosic, member of the SASA, Professor Neca Jovanov, Dr Ivan Jankovic, Mladen Srbinovic, member of the SASA, Dr Gojko Nikolis, member of the SASA, Professor Andrija Gams, Dr Vojislav Kostunica, Kosta Cavoski, Professor Zagorka Golubovic, Mica Popovic, member of the SASA.

Daily Views Serviceman Tomo Bogataj Case

AU1108165888 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Aug 88 p 2

[Article by Lj. Stojadinovic: "Reactions: Protecting the Ideology of Genocide"]

[Excerpts] The latest announcement by the Initiative Committee for Setting Up a Human Rights and Basic Freedoms Protection Council within the Slovene SAWP Republican Committee, about which BORBA reported on 3 August under the headline "Big Suspicions and Meager Evidence," represents a step forward in the escalation of unscrupulous attacks against the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA]. With the conclusion of the trial of Borstner, Jansa, and their accomplices at the court of the first instance, one stage of aggression by using public statements has been concluded. This aggression ignored civilizational ethics and was undoubtedly directed against the Army and all the values on which it is based.

In the obvious attempt to continue to make public the tension of the alleged "dispute" with the Army, so that the long-cherished and drawn out manifestation of the public political trial of the Army and of everything pertaining to the country's unity would not be forgotten, it was necessary to find and keep the illusion of an alleged violation of the law by individual YPA organs. In order to do this, the aforementioned committee took up the cause of Tomo Bogataj, a soldier who was sentenced to 1 year in prison by the Military Court of the first instance in Sarajevo. Using forgeries and speculation, the committee does not attack the court, as Bogataj's trial was public, but it attacks the prosecuting and investigative organs in the YPA for "using forbidden and punishable means, threats, and extortion and pressure to engage certain soldiers as political agent provocateurs... and then choosing one of them and accusing him of hostile propaganda, so that the others could later act as witnesses in the main trial...."

Addressing the SFRY Presidency, the committee proceeded from the "ASSUMPTION [capitalized word as published] that this involved staged political processes and PERHAPS [capitalized word as published] the most vulgar abuse of power, and that military courts continue to give too wide an interpretation of Article 133 of the SFRY Criminal Code." [passage omitted]

Quotes from the explanation of the sentence give part of the answer to the committee's question about and doubt concerning the legality of all the proceedings against Tomo Bogataj. The committee's publicly expressed attitude could also be part of the answer to the question of where so much national-chauvinist poison came from in the unshakable opinions of the soldier Bogataj. He said "that it is not good that Serbs, Albanians, and Bosnians are moving to and finding jobs in Slovenia, because they bring uncultured and primitive behavior to the Slovenes; that he hates all southerners because they exploit Slovenia and he would therefore drive them all out of Slovenia; and that he is ready to kill all southerners and throw them into one great pit so that they will rot and can be used for manure to fertilize the fields in Slovenia." "In an ethnically pure Slovenia," said Bogataj, there should be no ashes (because they would be burned) or any remains of these southerners. According to Bogataj, the exploitation of Slovenia by the southerners would not stop until Slovenia separated itself from Yugoslavia....

All these quotes from the explanation of the sentence have been confirmed by witnesses. One of the witnesses, Tone Gosak, did not give evidence in court, because he "went off" to Austria after his military service and found work there. In any case, Tomo Bogataj admitted everything quoted above during the investigation and during the public trial before the Sarajevo Military Court.

When the investigation against Tomo Bogataj began, his father Ivan, president of the Republican Committee of the SR of Slovenia for Environment Protection, turned to some of the most senior leaders in the SR of Slovenia to see how he could apply pressure on the prosecuting organs and the court, claiming that "the case was staged with the aim of spreading anti-Slovene feeling in the YPA and Yugoslavia." With regard to the investigative organs and the court, Ivan Bogataj acted arrogantly and insolently, making threats because of his position and threatening to involve the country's most senior leaders.

Reliable Witnesses [subhead]

The explanation of the sentence totally negates the committee's claim that the witnesses were in fact "agent provocateurs who were employed by the security services." It states: "At the main trial, not one piece of evidence, and not even circumstantial evidence, was presented that would show that the witnesses had any reason to make unfounded accusations against the accused. They expressly stated that they had no reason to make unfounded accusations against the accused and the accused himself did not state anything that would have shown that the witnesses had any reason to make unfounded accusations against him, which would reduce the great evidential value and credibility of the witnesses' statements." [passage omitted]

The initiative committee, which has the ambition to defend human rights and freedoms, increasingly takes the side of those who threaten these rights and freedoms

and is increasingly the supporter of freedom for those whose freedom involves breaking the law and who proclaim anticommunist concepts with particular pride. In the case of Tomo Bogataj, the committee directly defended this idea of genocide which the former tried to publicly affirm in a community which consistently nurtures good human relations, comradeship, and brotherhood and unity. Therefore, foolish thoughts and calls for chauvinist extermination are not an ordinary verbal misdemeanor but a criminal offense with exceptionally serious consequences. In this case, it is absurd to say that Bogataj's sentence violated anybody's human rights. On the contrary: in strictly implementing and respecting the law, the Sarajevo Military Court rose up in defense of the human rights of all those who find calls to mass extermination unacceptable behavior among soldiers and incompatible with anybody's understanding of human freedom.

Unfortunately, with such a concept of defending unthreatened freedoms, the committee has its center within the Republican Conference Presidium of the SAWP of Slovenia. Since it was founded, the committee never dealt with human destinies, because that is obviously not its purpose, but with political struggle with a nihilist attitude toward all positive institutions of the system as its platform; and with a completely clear antisocialist orientation which is affirmed overtly under a pseudodemocratic guise. [passage omitted]

The committee's announcement could result in the spreading of nationalist euphoria, but that will not be the responsibility of YPA security organs and the military judiciary, but of the authors of such an announcement. They work and act overtly, not as a committee for the protection of human rights and freedoms, but as a committee for the protection of perpetrators of criminal acts against the Armed Forces. Such acts will certainly be consistently sanctioned in the future, irrespective of the national affiliation of their perpetrators, and irrespective of pressures and provocations. Obeying the law in the YPA implies the protection of the moral, ideological, and physical integrity of all its members and is one of the important conditions for respecting the right of all young people living in our country to be ready to defend freedom in Yugoslavia. Outside this freedom, the partial and nationalist activity of the abovementioned committee is meaningless.

Commentator Views Publicity in Politics

AU1108203888 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 88 p 11

[Article by Danko Plevnik: "The Federation of Wisdom" reprinted from Zagreb DANAS—date not given]

[Text] The question that the latest LCY Central Committee session has broached is not whether we need publicity, but what principles, actions, and prospects publicity should acquire. Although politicians from socialist utopists to utopian socialists should unconditionally accept the category of publicity (of their work) as ideology, they have a certain pragmatic reservation mentalis. It is not without reason, if one bears in mind the "flower" of our Balkan mentality.

Publicity is certainly the most important component of the socialization of politics, but it is not a replacement for its reasonability. Peeping through the keyhole into the activity of a political organization offers no guaranty that its intellectual methodology will be modernized. One should move from the extorted publicity to a flexible openness toward the public opinion and toward accepting a dialogue with this almost intact reservoir of fresh and relevant ideas, plans, and methods.

This also implies moves in reorganizing political work to a degree at which there is no way back. The publicity of work takes strength away from rumors and gossip, destimulates opportunists, and enables us to look into the kitchen where politics are simmering. Without publicity there is no responsibility, and without responsibility there is no freedom. It would be very naive to demand publicity only from politicians. It is indispensable in all segments of society.

Publicity makes it possible for politics to be transformed from a discipline of secretiveness to the most complex social activity. It is used for changing the vocation and discourse of a political speaker who now cannot continue bleating cliches for long (this will happen if publicity results in repercussions; otherwise it will only be another tragedy of the aspirations of the political system).

The only thing one finds in the everyday political life is a tiring induction. Synthesis is only promised. About 50 speakers follow one another allegedly speaking about different things, but they nevertheless say the same thing and do so at the same plane of perception. Hours and hours pass with only two or three arguments in the game and about 50 people championing them. All this is going on at the expense of my time, i.e. the time of the public.

These messages should be ascribed to poor organization and outdated methods of work. First, one should reduce the number of Central Committee members, because that structure dates from the era of the monologue and not the era of the dialogue. Second, one should appoint delegates who are capable of thinking comprehensively about the world and Yugoslavia, no matter whether they are young people, workers, women, or other outsiders; and one should not elect young people, workers, or women only to demonstrate the generosity of the election system of representation. Third, members of the LCY Central Committee must show through their behavior the advantages of being the vanguard: There is more skill in making use of information and the ability to expound on one's judgments. In this way we would to a great extent be able to start on a firmer basis from

politics as a struggle (among good, bad, and worse characters) toward politics as science of steering. We would be able to go from loudness toward clearness.

Publicity can also be a double-edged sword and a risk, because it can at once show somebody's immaturity, ignorance, and incompetence, but it can also be a triumphant shortcut. The way Gorbachev came out into the public with the Armenian representatives in the dispute about Nagorno-Karabakh suggests a method of work using reasoning. To enter a dialogue on the open scene with people who think differently is an operation of putting one's head in the lion's mouth, but also a demonstration of the strength of persuasion and the correctness of one's ideas, as Gorbachev has shown.

Our problem is no longer the publicity in itself, but in ourselves, in all our mentalities. Therefore, I support the confederation of mentalities and federation of wisdom. Namely, we simply cannot correctly evaluate some modes of behavior and reaction if we do not have the real experience of a mentality in everyday life. What is taboo in one community can be a totem in another: to people who do not know the social law of mentalities every democratic action may seem to be chaotic. What is more dangerous for democracy: victorious or defeatist mentality? Therefore, I think it was a wise decision of the LCY Central Committee to examine in particular the dimensions by the culture of dialogue as the framework and crucial question of the destiny of our publicity. If publicity has a price, then there should be a limit to that price: devaluing passions or the dignity of reason.

Paracin Textile Workers Continue Strike

AU1108185588 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 11 Aug 88

[Text] The strike by about one thousand workers at the Branko Kasmanovic textile and knitwear factory in Paracin, which began yesterday morning, continued today. At this afternoon's extraordinary meeting, the workers repeated their demand that temporary measures be introduced because of the problems which have amassed in the work organization. They see another solution in an increase in personal incomes which amount to 15 million old dinars and even less for workers. They accepted the proposal to return to work only under the condition that their demands be met.

Constitutional Changes Discussed in Vojvodina

LD1108200388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1711 GMT 11 Aug 88

[Text] Novi Sad, August 11 (TANJUG)—The nations and nationalities of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina have their state, their republic of Serbia, and they do not want any other. They have their autonomy, however, which they want to continue developing, it was underscored at today's joint session of the leaderships of Vojvodina's Socialist Alliance of the Working People and trade unions in Novi Sad, the capital of Vojvodina.

This session in Vojvodina practically opened a public debate on the draft amendments to the constitution of Yugoslavia's largest Republic of Serbia, in the composition of which are the two autonomous provinces, Kosovo and Vojvodina.

It was underscored at the session that democratic procedure, the power of argument, tolerance and equality of the participants should be respected in the public debate.

The leaderships of the two Vojvodina socio-political organizations assessed that the public debate will focus on requests for a more determined and responsible resolving of the situation in Kosovo, where Albanian chauvinists and separatists have been active. The disturbed relations between the peoples and the uninterrupted process of the Serbs' and Montenegrins' emigration from Kosovo are for Yugoslavia the most dangerous consequences of the Albanian chauvinists' and separatists' activities.

The Serbian leadership believes that such a turn of events in Kosovo occurred because the republic does not have the constitutional and legal rights to secure and defend order and the citizens' rights in the province. The republican leadership requests that the constitutional changes expand Serbia's power regarding the most important domains, such as national defence, security, penal-legal protection and administration of justice to all of Serbia's territory. The provinces still oppose the Serbian leadership's request.

The Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins arrived in Novi Sad in July in order to protest because they maintained that Vojvodina's leadership was blocking the constitutional changes. After the event, the party leaderships of Vojvodina and Serbia began quarrelling. The Yugoslav party leadership reacted and called the two leaderships to stop their polemics and accusations and urged both the province and the republic to overcome the controversial questions on constitutional changes in a democratic and constructive atmosphere, without pressures and tensions.

Member of the Vojvodina Presidency Djordje Radosavljevic underscored today at a political gathering that Vojvodina had different views on certain questions, but that this should not be dramatized. He assessed that part of the public was bringing into question Vojvodina's position as a constituent element of Yugoslavia, which was unacceptable for the provincial leadership. The nations and nationalities of Vojvodina had won the right to and the duty of responsibilities for Yugoslavia's development in the revolution and are not to lose them in the negotiations, Radosavljevic warned.

Kosovo Albanians Called Upon 'To Rise Up'
AU1108203588 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 88 p 3

[M. Antic report: "A New Record—an Old Tune"]

[Text] Pristina, 9 Aug—During the night between 8 and 9 August, Albanian nationalists and separatists again appeared in Pristina, distributing hostile leaflets around the town.

The as yet unknown hostile group, or individuals, because the leaflets were not signed although this has been regularly done before, posted the leaflets, which were entitled "A call on behalf of the people" in mailboxes and posted them on some shop fronts. They are addressed to "respected Albanians" and their very beginning recalls that "whenever it was necessary to defend their country (they mean Albania) and freedom from enemies, they gave everything, even their lives." They go on to claim that "in the national liberation war, when the Albanian people were freed from the neofascists and when they helped the people of Yugoslavia, Kosovo was not liberated either in the national or the economic sense. The leaflet states further that the Bujan conference and its resolution, which considered the question of unity with Albania and self-determination to the point of secession, were in fact negated by Serbian chauvinists led by Rankovic." [quotation marks as published]

The writers of the leaflet then impudently claim that the separation of the Albanian people from their territories took place in Jajce in 1943, "after which the arrests, torture, and persecution of the innocent Albanian people began." After they "warn" that in this part of the Balkans the proletarian class has "undergone a collapse," the authors of the leaflet add that "criminals, Serbian Nazis succeeded in defending bourgeois chauvinism and in transforming it into a fascist dictatorship, which soon came to light with the slogan 'Kosovo is Serbia.'"

After they state a string of other inaccuracies and accusations, the authors of the hostile leaflet show their true colors when they make their call. This call literally says: "Respected Albanians, the day has come for us to rise up and free (receive) our inalienable rights." Instead of the usual signature, they then write "Death to fascism—freedom to the people."

So, we did not have to wait long after the LCY Central Committee's 16th Plenum for inveterate Albanian nationalists and separatists to appear, who really do not have anything new to say, because they have been playing the same tune on new "records" for years, not attempting to find at least one worthwhile, reasoned argument for their accusations and extreme nationalism. They also know that, like many earlier leaflets and pamphlets, this one will receive no response from the majority of ethnic Albanians, who care about living in the Yugoslav community of equal peoples and nationalities. However, they are counting on succeeding in poisoning yet another young soul and thereby acquiring a new stormtrooper.

They are also counting on something else: on introducing more unrest and uneasiness into the ranks of the ethnic Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, a large number of whom are on the threshold of emigration. In fact, this is their main aim.

The actual aim of the leaflet is more than obvious. It is calculated to create further discord in intranational relations, but the authors reveal their hostility to Yugoslavia in the last sentence when they call on all Albanians to fight against our country. Regardless of all the difficulties which our society is encountering, and particularly the situation in Kosovo, one should repeat to these obdurate enemies, although it is well-known, that they have and will have no chance of provoking an intranational conflict.

It is pointless to talk about the lies and curses stated in the leaflet as this is a question of pure inventions and insinuations which through their skillfully placed demagoguery have the aim of sow hatred for the Serbian people and therefore for Yugoslavia and to "remind" the ethnic Albanians that they do not belong to the place where they are living. Fortunately, the ethnic Albanian themselves in Yugoslavia, that is the majority, know that this is directed against their vital interests and came out against such calls a long time ago.

Drought Reaches Catastrophic Level in Macedonia
LD1108123588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1110 GMT 11 Aug 88

[Text] Skopje, 11 Aug (TANJUG)—The long period of drought in Macedonia, unprecedented in the last 40 years, is gaining catastrophic proportions. Yields of many vegetable crops are threatened or have been destroyed. The situation is most critical for rice and tobacco crops. Many of the Vardar River tributaries are dry, as are several hydroreclamation systems, and in several towns in Macedonia there is almost no drinking water. Electricity production has been decreased in hydroelectric power stations, which also have insufficient water. According to meteorologists' forecasts, no change in the weather situation is expected, so the consequences of the drought will be even more serious.

The long period of record drought in Macedonia has caused the greatest damage to agriculture. The situation is worse for rice, which has been sown on some 8,000 hectares, and which as a crop demands very large quantities of water. Other crops in eastern Macedonia, particularly vegetables and grapes, have also been hit by the drought.

There are also catastrophic consequences from the drought in the Pelagonija Valley [south of Skopje]. The Strezevo hydroreclamation system, built for the needs of farmers in this valley, is without water. The Kalimanci, Vodoca, and Paljurci reservoirs are also dry, and in others the water reserves have almost been exhausted. Water supplies for industry, and drinking water for citizens is very seriously affected. The use of water has been rationed in Prilep, Berovo, and some other towns.

Foreign Minister Sends Iran, Iraq Messages
LD1108193788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1727 GMT 11 Aug 88

[text] Belgrade, August 11 (TANJUG)—The Iran-Iraq decision to cease fire and begin negotiations is historical—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar said today.

In his messages to the foreign ministers of Iraq and Iran, Tariq 'Aziz and 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Loncar described the step, which clears (?way for a) more consistent implementation of Security Council Resolution 598, as wise and courageous. He also said that the decision was primarily important to the two countries but that it would effect security and cooperation in the Gulf region, stability and peace worldwide as well.

In the messages Loncar underscored that Yugoslavia would continue contributing significantly to the achievement of the goals.

The foreign minister also paid tribute in a separate message to the United Nations Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar for considerable personal efforts and success in mediating between Iraq and Iran. He underscored Yugoslavia's full support to and cooperation with other United Nations Security Council members in reaching peace, stability and prosperity in the Gulf region as well as the whole world.